

JPRS 75664

9 May 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1784



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

9 May 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1784

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Briefs

Leaders at Memorial Meeting	1
Kadri Hasbiu Activities	1
Summer Time Schedule	1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czech-Slovak Writers' Conference Did Not Address Problems (Drahoslav Machala; NOVE SLOVO, 20 Mar 80)	2
---	---

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

March 1980 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed (Helmut Caspar; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 Mar 80)	5
--	---

Political Guidance Urged for Microelectronics, Chemical Industries (EINHEIT, Mar 80)	6
--	---

SED Dresden Bezirk Management, by Hans Modrow
SED Halle Bezirk Management, by Hans-Joachim Boehme

Clausewitz Hailed as 'Progressive' Thinker in German History (Various sources, various dates)	23
--	----

West German Commentary
GDR Military Historian's Discussion, by Reinhard Bruehl

CONTENTS (Continued)

Youth Organizations' Role in Communist Education Reviewed (Various sources, various dates)	34
West German Commentary Organization Statistics, Tasks, by Werner Hannig	
Listings, Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles (Various sources, various dates)	41
Articles Summarized West German Commentary	
Selection Criteria for FDJ Functionaries Discussed (Various sources, various dates)	45
West German Commentary Requirements for Cadre Work, by Erich Postler	
HUNGARY	
Paper Texts Woodrow Article on Religion in Hungary (Alain Woodrow; IRODALMI UJSAG, Jan-Feb 80)	53
POLAND	
Continuous Economic, Social, Political Analysis Called For (Jan Szczepanski; POLITYKA, 13 Mar 80)	65
'POLITYKA' Writer Said To Question Grudziadz Trial (DZIENNIK POLSKI, 21 Apr 80)	68
Letter Calls for More Toleration of Nonconformist Analysis (Piotr Buczkowski; POLITYKA, 19 Apr 80)	71
ROMANIA	
Envoys Address UN-ECE Conference on Technology (AGERPRES, 21 Apr 80)	74
Report on Sessions Celebrating 35th Anniversary of Armed Forces Day (Ion Coman, et al.; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Sep-Oct 79)	75
Role of Militia in Law Enforcement Discussed (Constantin Nuta; REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, Jan 80)	89

CONTENTS (Continued)

Practice of Covering Up Work Accidents Condemned (Clara Dumitrescu; MUNCA, 18 Apr 80)	95
Rabbi Rosen Praises German Minority Bishop on 70th Birthday (REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC, 1 Apr 80)	98
Briefs	
Ministerial Personnel Changes	100
Governmental Personnel Changes	100
Release of Ceterchi	100
Changes in Defense Ministry	100

YUGOSLAVIA

Archbishop's Protests Against Atheism Criticized (Nenad Ivankovic; VJESNIK, 25 Mar 80)	101
Return of Articles Belonging to Orthodox Church in Croatia (PRAVOSLAVLJE, 15 Mar 80)	105
Church Cooperation With Serbian Academy of Sciences (PRAVOSLAVLJE, 15 Mar 80)	107
Use of Local Supplies During Military Exercises Examined (Kosta Vujic; VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED, Nov-Dec 79)	108

BRIEFS

LEADERS AT MEMORIAL MEETING--The Tirana District party and executive committees organized a meeting on 8 April in memory of the 10th anniversary of Gogo Nushi's death. On the occasion, a street in rajons number three and ten was named after Gogo Nushi. Attending the meeting were hundreds of residents from rajons number eight and ten, veterans and students. Also attending were Comrades Ramiz Alia and Rita Marko; Nexhmije Hoxha and Vito Kapo; Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District party committee; Omer Haxhia, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Tirana District People's Council; leaders of the mass organizations; members of Gogo Nushi's family; and others. Xhemal Tafaj, first secretary of the party committee of Tirana rajon number one, reviewed the revolutionary activity of Gogo Nushi. Ramiz Alia then unveiled a plaque dedicated to the memory of Gogo Nushi. [AU090730 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Apr 80 AU]

KADRI HASBIU ACTIVITIES--A meeting took place this afternoon at the officers' club of the Ministry of the Interior, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the fall of hero of the people and member of the security forces Pal Melyshi. The meeting was attended by Kadri Hasbiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member; Fecor Shehu, AWP Central Committee candidate member; leading party and state cadres from Mirdite District and others. Film material and slides were shown, depicting the life and work of Pal Melyshi. [AU122105 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Apr 80 AU]

SUMMER TIME SCHEDULE--Announcement on time change in our country: Beginning 27 April 1980, the clocks will be put forward 60 minutes. Thus, 2400 hours on 26 April will become 0100 hours on 27 April 1980. Beginning 28 April 1980 official working schedules for administrative workers will be 0700-1400 hours in the morning and 1700-2000 hours on Mondays and Tuesdays. In production centers the time schedules remain as at present regardless of the time change. Thus, if work commences at 0700 in an enterprise, it will still commence at 0700 according to the new schedule. [Text] [AU231434 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 23 Apr 80 AU]

CSO: 2100

CZECH-SLOVAK WRITERS' CONFERENCE DID NOT ADDRESS PROBLEMS

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak 20 Mar 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Drahoslav Machala: "Meetings: Close the Chapter on Courtesy Calls"]

[Text] We have written about meetings between Czech and Slovak writers in our periodical several times already. In spite of this it seems to us that no matter how skillfully we presented information about each of these events and if our reportorial accounts had the sharpness of Kisch's perceptions, there arises nevertheless the question, which any of our readers could quite properly ask, what is the purpose of these meetings? A fresh opportunity now presents itself to think about this and to briefly respond to this question. Just now, between 12 and 14 March, delegates of the Czech Union and the Slovak Union of Writers held their sixth conference in the okres of Ziar nad Hronom.

Both national writers' unions set up these meetings for several reasons. The first and most important is to get to know the people in their field, the people of the day, the simple heroes of the daily struggle for the stability of what is understood by the concept of certainty. The masters of the pen take full advantage of their stay in places where they would not go on their own, perhaps even by chance. Since I have taken part in such meetings more than once I must confess that the questions which the writers ask of economists, supervisory management personnel, okres representatives and party officials often surpass in their fundamentality, rigidity, directness and clarity the obligatory reporters' rhetorical questions, such as, "How is the plan fulfillment coming along?" or "How many books do you have on loan in your library?" and the like. They are always directed at the fundamentals. Whether in the North Bohemian kraj or at the Dalesice dam and, naturally, now too in Ziar nad Hronom, they regularly ask to what extent the captains of our enterprises are thinking about the protection of our environment or whether they even recognize the concept of "esthetic improvement of the working environment and whether they would be able to figure out and perhaps even carry out in practice the concept of work refinement?" It would be a pleasure to work with such a team of reporters.

They are deeply interested in the work of the enterprises; it is not merely the obligatory tribute out of courtesy for an explanation of revolutionary traditions or about the production program of the factory. They ask to what extent our products are able to compete on a world scale; they do not let phrases about innovation fly past their ears unopposed, which often only means an excuse for raising the cost of the product. The writers appear as informed partners in areas which only ostensibly have anything in common with their art. That is the first part of the reply to the question--what is the purpose? The purpose of these meetings, then, is also that the writers in their dialogs with the management personnel of our factories and boards of directors bring up suggestions not only for consideration but they also help to reinforce a sense of responsibility for the common symbol with which we sign our world products--the symbol "Made in Czechoslovakia." The purpose of the meetings lies also in the fact that working people at meetings with writers talk very openly about the works of our authors, they express themselves in criticism as well in praise of their works; they also ask for at least a European if not a universal quality of writing. Thus one can speak about a fruitful dialog.

Another reason is the creation of opportunities for writers to meet with their readers. Scores of get-togethers in which authors participated as part of the Czech and Slovak writers' conferences were of inestimable value. The personal appearance of a writer, his remarks and also sincere attempt to give honest replies serve to strengthen, especially for young readers, their interest in books and their faith in (or at least curiosity about) current literature. At a number of meetings we found out that the presence of Slovak writers in little towns and villages in Bohemia and Moravia served to increase overall interest in current Slovak literature and likewise the presence of Czech authors stimulated interest in Czech literature within Slovakia. The friendly spirit that prevails between Czech and Slovak writers is rapidly transmitted to the audience and almost always a real atmosphere of fraternal solidarity is created which one does not soon forget.

A third reason for the meetings are the seminars at which the production of the past year is evaluated. This time at Ziar nad Hronom Dr Hana Hrzalova and Dr Ivan Sulik presented their appraisals of the last 10 years of Slovak and Czech prose. The seminars gave opportunities for open constructive debates on the problems which make current writing activity difficult. In fact, more than once they also turned into opportunities for the expression of direct, clear views about the need for much closer and more informal cooperation between Czech and Slovak writers such as existed in the past without all the pronouncements and fanfare. (We have in mind Minac's characterization of such meetings carried out in the spirit of so-called courtesy calls where one does not slam doors.)

It seems that it is precisely the seminars that organizers of future meetings should give most thought to. Their preparation should not only be called to the attention of national committees but also federal ones. These seminars could well be used for bringing up problems which have been bothering union members for some time, whether they concern the announcement of professional

fees, which meanwhile has not solved the essential problems, or about literary periodicals or the activity of the union abroad or about proper attention to current literature on television or other questions that have so far remained unanswered.

If we were to assess the recent sixth meeting of Czech and Slovak writers in the okres of Ziar nad Hronom we could say that it not only met both of the first parts of its objectives, which we analyzed above, but greatly surpassed them. The hosts deserve the highest credit for this--the leading party and state officials of the okres of Ziar nad Hronom (M. Kalman, J. Osvald, K. Benický, J. Golmus and J. Melich), representatives of municipal national committees in Kremnica and in Banská Stiavnica and also management workers of the SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Works in Ziar nad Hronom, in the Pleta plant in Banská Stiavnica and, naturally, the JRD [Unified Transportation Control] in Stará Kremnica and at the National Mint in Kremnica. Writers of both the national unions were greatly impressed at the get-togethers with readers in Ziar nad Hronom, in Banská Stiavnica and in Kremnica. This would be in order.

But even so it seems to us that the presence of Distinguished Artist Engr Z. Pluhar, Distinguished Artist Dr J. Marek, Distinguished Artist Dr J. Tomeček, Engr M. Rafaj, B. Macák, S. Rudolf, P. Pavlík, V. Aldová, J. Kostrhun, K. Misar, V. Klevis, J. Navrátil and Dr H. Hrzalová from the Czech union and Distinguished Artist Dr Milos Krna, J. Balec, J. Bodenek, D. Dusek, M. Ceretková-Gallova, K. Horák, L. Hajkova, Dr. Hajek, L. Jurik, L. Kerna, Dr V. Kochol, D. Machala, J. Papp, J. Puskas, I. Plintovic, S. Partosova, I. Sulik, R. Sloboda, P. Strelinger and L. Bena from the Slovak side should have been used to discuss in open dialog not only the relationship between Czech and Slovak writers but especially the problems which remained as question marks from the preceding 2 or 3 years.

In the third part of the objective of the meeting of Czech and Slovak writers a certain lack of clarity still seemed to prevail. It would be worthwhile to consider now, when future meetings are starting to be prepared, what can be done to stimulate a conference of both national unions which would bring about an unannounced, genuine rapprochement and not just courtesy calls where one does not slam doors out of proper consideration.

8491
CSO: 2400

MARCH 1980 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Mar 80 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35, No 3, March 1980, signed to press 13 February 1980, pp 225-336: "Policy of Brinkmanship." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Monopolist Strategy Against Peace and Progress" is the topic discussed by eight authors in the March issue of EINHEIT. Klaus Benjowski investigates the Carter administration's brinkmanship and its resorting to ever more adventurist and dangerous means to push back the influence of real socialism in the world, to strengthen the potential of the imperialist states in the class confrontation and to insure its long-term influence on raw material sources. According to the author, the aim of the intensified arms buildup and of the inflammatory campaign against the Soviet Union and against any anti-imperialist changes in the world, a campaign marked by hysteria and presumptuous chauvinism, is to regain lost ground and to dictate to the socialist states their policy "on the basis of strength"--in Carter's words.

In another contribution Helmut Burg and Karl-Heinz Schwank deal with the dangers for the world resulting from the international power concentration of monopoly capitalism and its misanthropic intrigues. While Ekkehard Lieberam and Karl-Heinz Roeder discuss the topic of "Securing Imperialist Domination Through an Authoritarian Course," Waltraud Daehne deals with the imperialist manipulation of public opinion and the current anti-Soviet inflammatory campaign. Other interesting items are [two] statistical surveys, by Siegfried Ullrich and Joachim Nitsche, respectively, about the excessive profits currently being reaped by American and other monopolies in the arms industry.

Referring to experiences of the Dresden Bezirk party organization, Hans Modrow explains problems of development, production and application of micro-electronics. Further contributions to the journal focus on the rationalization of administrative work in combines (Wolfgang Sieber); on product quality enhancement (Klaus Steinitz); and on Friedrich Engels' book, "The Development of Socialism From Utopianism to Science," published 100 years ago (Vera Wrona).

POLITICAL GUIDANCE URGED FOR MICROELECTRONICS, CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

SED Dresden Bezirk Management

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 13 Feb 80
pp 271-277

[Article by Hans Modrow, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Dresden Bezirk Management: "Scientific-Technical Progress—Heavy Demands on Political Guidance Activity--The Proving Ground for Microelectronics"]

[Text] Its long-term conception for the accelerated development and application of microelectronics is a crucial element in the SED's strategy on the growth of the GDR's economic performance. Dresden Bezirk, where circa 18 percent of the products of electrical engineering and electronics is produced, bears a great responsibility for implementing the tasks in the field of microelectronics. This contribution presents experiences the party bezirk management has had in coping with these demanding tasks in political-ideological and scientific-organizational respects.

The Ninth SED Congress emphatically pointed to the key role scientific-technical progress has in the successful implementation of our policy which is aimed at the good of the people, the consolidation of socialism, and the safeguarding of peace. The Politburo and Central Committee resolutions have clearly worked out for it the tasks the party organizations have, the requirements placed on their political and organizational guidance activity for accelerating scientific-technical progress and for the most efficient utilization of science and technology data. The successes we have had in struggling for the implementation of the resolutions confirm the correctness of this orientation.

The most recent Central Committee plena and the speech, rich in directives, by Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, at the Central Committee secretariat's conference with the party kreis first secretaries, have made clear that these tasks confront us today in a new fashion and with unprecedented propulsivity. The compelling requirements

arising from the intensified international class conflict and the striking changes on the foreign markets for a steep enhancement of the GDR's economic performance make the problems of scientific-technical progress and of the political struggle appear in a new light. Much that has been taken thus far as progress and success can now be rated merely as a basis from which to start. What has been accomplished and accepted up to now no longer is sufficient for reaching the from now on absolutely necessary growth rates in output and efficiency and ensuring the conservation of labor, the full use of material and energy, and the quality improvements of our products. Already this year we must gain the higher pace of the 1980's and, mainly by way of rationalization, use science and technology much more extensively to enhance our economic end product.

Tasks and Experiences of Our Bezirk Party Organization

A key issue of scientific-technical progress is the development and application of microelectronics. The Politburo has issued a clear orientation on it and passed on its long-term conception for an accelerated development and application of microelectronics in the GDR economy. Dresden Bezirk bears an especially high responsibility in this field. Important segments of the GDR's scientific and industrial potential are concentrated there. Circa 18 percent of the production volume in our republic's electrical engineering and electronics comes from there. And even the microelectronics institute of the microelectronics combine has its seat there. This calls for focusing the strength of the bezirk party organization effectively on these important tasks and for inspiring the working people for them by developing their active and creative participation. Thereby the conditions will be created for a rigorous and successful implementation of the party resolutions on microelectronics.

Proceeding in particular from the sixth Central Committee plenum, bezirk management has purposefully addressed its guidance activity to it. A bezirk party activists conference on microelectronics after that Central Committee plenum created the requisite political starting positions. At a second bezirk party activists conference on microelectronics in October 1979, we were able to make an assessment of our results in implementing the microelectronics program and did so jointly with Comrade Guenter Mittag, Politbureau member and the SED Central Committee secretary, and there we worked out the requirements and ways for coping with more and still more demanding tasks in this field. Implementing them at optimum qualities and at the necessary breadth makes heavy demands on the political guidance activity of bezirk management, and it is a major point of emphasis in the campaign program of the bezirk party organization in preparation of the 10th party congress.

Bezirk management and its secretariat regularly review the work results in this field, make the necessary decisions on their further work and ensure accounting and controls for it. To that end, through problem and control conferences, consultations, briefings and so forth, many contacts and a

close comradely cooperation with the experts and cadres working in microelectronics have been created, as very fine cooperation has also been ensured from the very beginning with the comrades in the microelectronics combine in Erfurt.

Thus, for the responsible comrades in the bezirk, political guidance activity has been and is also an intensive learning process, particularly with regard to the development and application of microelectronics. It is not a matter here of becoming knowledgeable in any special science field, but we must understand fundamental relationships and principles behind this modern technology and the potentials they have, and we must work out the right points of approach for the successful implementation of the party resolutions.

Party work on microelectronics is concerned with two closely interconnected goals:

First it is a matter of political attitudes and standpoints, a matter of knowing political interconnections well and--embedded in it--of understanding the role of microelectronics, in which the advantages of socialism combine with the scientific-technical revolution, for the continued successful implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions, for continuing the course of the main task, and for strengthening socialism and preserving peace. Only by mastering microelectronics and by keeping pace with the high speed in it found internationally can we maintain our position among the leading industrial countries, which is a vital condition for our standard of living, our international respect and the weight of our foreign policy.

Secondly it is a matter of translating, with passion and combative dedication, our knowledge and convictions into concrete deeds on behalf of scientific-technical progress and the development and application of microelectronics. No party management and party organization may leave things to doing a lot of talking about them. The measures resulting from the microelectronics resolutions must be set down concretely and accountably with their deadlines and responsibilities. With high purpose and coordination we must fight for their implementation, and an effective party control over the decisive tasks must be ensured.

Modern Technology—A Part of the Class Conflict

The party organizations of those institutions and enterprises that make the decisions on microelectronics development in the GDR must meet those demands in an exemplary fashion. After the sixth Central Committee plenum, the party organization in the microelectronics institute, assisted by bezirk management, has brought about a change in its work to enable all comrades to head the struggle for solving the new tasks and create for it in their collectives an atmosphere of creative activity. Party management conferences, the membership meetings and party group consultations, the party study year, theoretical conferences, problem discussions, discussions in the collectives, the schools of socialist work and individual talks are marked by an exchange of ideas and debate about the requirements and ways for meeting this high responsibility.

In particular, the following basic questions are of central concern in this:

The party resolutions on microelectronics, first and foremost, call for vastly greater scientific-technical achievements and improved efficiency in our own work for developing microelectronic circuits and the most effective technologies by which to produce them. It is principally up to our own responsibility to decide how and at what speed the possibilities in microelectronics will become effective for our republic and its people, for the high enhancement of economic achievement required. Waiting for higher training skills, new structures and imports would mean barring the way to success.

Independent top achievements of our own have to be the goal and yardstick for our work. In the field of microelectronics too we must conduct sober comparisons with international standards and work still more purposefully to eliminate backwardness in the pertinent sectors. Only he who consistently focuses on optimum standards can effectively fight for them, can have a chance in the first place to reach the top. In all this, the realistic assessment of the developmental level of microelectronics in some imperialist countries must nowhere bar the view to our own, by no means mean, possibilities, and our own responsibility.

The necessary results--this has been confirmed by successes thus far--can be achieved only by extremely broad and purposeful socialist cooperative work and the use of the advantages of socialism especially in this regard. That holds true for our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, in conformity with the government agreement on microelectronics. The same holds true for cooperating with many partners in our republic and our own Bezirk. That ranges from the science institutes dealing with the basic and applied research in the various disciplines, to Dresden's Technical University and other universities and colleges, producers of components and devices, part and ancillary suppliers, all the way to the users of microelectronics. The willingness to cooperate and the will and ability to make cooperation practically effective are crucial for coping with these tasks.

Especially due to the complexity of the tasks, a precise definition of the requirements that extends into the far distant future, in terms of deadlines, qualities and quantities of our own work and the work of our partners, is of the greatest importance. Creativity and passion for the great tasks have to be combined with a maximum of planning and discipline for better tapping still especially those reserves that can be found through the close combination of research, development, investment and production. Our own performance is the best foundation for insisting that others will also exhaust their own possibilities for a speedy development of microelectronics and painstakingly fulfill their obligations in this field.

The principle, "Wherever There Is a Comrade, There Is the Party Too," of necessity implies that wherever there is a comrade, there is a fighter for scientific-technical progress who himself moves ahead with greatest zeal

and enables and inspires his collective for top achievements, one who understands that we need this rapid performance improvement not a day after tomorrow, not in some nebulous future, but here and now, and who will struggle for it with all his strength.

The Key Issue: Cooperation Between Science and Production

Relying on the stronger political efforts by the party organizations, the microelectronics institute in Dresden was able to make significant advances and successfully to undertake tasks in the microelectronics program. A party activists collective organized above enterprise level has steadily provided new impulses for completing, on the occasion of the GDR's 30th anniversary, the first model of a new microcomputer family with new circuits.

Such party activists groups have proven themselves. Not large conferences are what distinguishes their work. The party activists of the institutes and enterprises jointly engaged in an important innovative task do meet at regular intervals, under party management leadership, and consider which political activities have to be started to reach the assigned goal, and they set down the required steps down all the way to the concrete requirements for the various party activists.

It must emphatically be emphasized that all our advances in the field of microelectronics are the outcome of effective socialist cooperative work. The institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, especially the Central Institute for Nuclear Physics and the Central Institute for Solid-state Physics and Materials Science, have a decisive share in creating and ensuring the research lead time for the development and broad application of microelectronics. The Manfred von Ardenne Institute and the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical College are providing valuable assistance to coping with important tasks in the combine. Some other science institutions, for instance the Central Institute for Cybernetics and Information Science, have been tasked to make more of a contribution to the use of microelectronics.

The Technical University of Dresden is taking an active part in the development of microelectronics from basic research to the solution of practical technical tasks. Its information techniques department started post-graduate courses on microprocessing techniques in 1979. Some highly skilled scientists of the Technical University went directly to the microelectronics institute from there while experts from there, in turn, are taking part in the teaching activities of the Technical University.

Much like the comrades in the microelectronics institute, the party organizations in the VEB Elektromat and in other enterprises too, which have to perform important tasks in the development of microelectronics, have set down precise stipulations in the campaign programs and in the party management guidance documents to create the political prerequisites for the resolute realization of these tasks. In those enterprises as well, one encounters not a few excellent achievements and high objectives. In the VEB Elektromat, for

instance, inspired by the party organization, through its own construction a clean-space complex was set up in an old structure, where high-grade special technological installations can be assembled.

Bezirk management emphatically insists on regularly holding "days of science and technology" in selected combines and enterprises. These events are useful for bringing theoreticians and men of practice, scientists and producers, members of the intelligentsia and workers, still more closely together for handling most up-to-date technologies. This frequently results in permanent and fruitful ties, even to targeted exchange of cadres.

There are still enterprises devoted, in terms of volume, to very small parts of microelectronics production where difficulties remain in creating clear positions on these tasks throughout the whole collective. There are some who understand their great responsibility and work with enthusiasm and admirable dedication while others are dubious about there having to be all this much precision, asking if the effort about "the few kilogram per year" was worth it altogether. An answer to that can of course best come from places which can not only refer to the great advantage to which microelectronics is turned in other areas but where also efforts are under way toward making the fullest use of its potentials in one's own area, so that it is the everyday practice that would furnish their arguments.

Good success in the development of microelectronics have mainly been had by party organizations where the dedication and innovator spirit of youth, the elan and the fine theoretical knowledge of the young cadres, including also that of the young graduates of Soviet technical schools, are combined deliberately with the knowledge older comrades and colleagues have gained from long years of practice. With a high sense of responsibility many young working people are engaged in the youth project "Microelectronics" which, based on a bezirk management resolution, was assigned to the bezirk FDJ organization.

Microelectronics Calls for Clear Positions

The microelectronics resolutions aim at mastery in the socialist manner, with the aim of highest economic efficiency, over the development, production and use of microelectronic components as a unified total process. The application of microelectronics in this sense is not merely the terminal link of a chain which thereby is turned to advantage, it also is, time and again, the point of departure, as it were.

This also is of an importance of principle for the work of the party organizations in the enterprises and facilities which use microelectronics or must use it in the future. The party organizations and their managements have to face the problems arising from the fact that microelectronics brings about important changes virtually for all, even though with its own priorities, differences and gradations regarding the scope and time frame of being put into effect. What is mainly expected of them is that they create clear positions on the following matters:

In wanting to accelerate scientific-technical progress, one must know the potentials and requirements of microelectronics and focus on them in preparing a strategy for the development of products and technologies, the intensification concepts, the science and technology plans and the political work for the further development of the working people's initiative under socialist competition.

For many products the use of microelectronics becomes a crucial criterion for top performance, qualities, and the development of values and intrinsic values, as needed for our economy, our population and our export. Without microelectronics the speed needed for conserving working hours, material and energy, which is imperative for improving our economic efficiency, is unobtainable in many cases.

Mainly the combines and the large enterprises in machine construction, consumer goods production and other branches too are no mere consumers of microelectronics. They must make their own constructive contribution to the application and development of microelectronics.

Crucial to this important task also are the people, the cadres, their knowing about, and their skill in, these new requirements, and their willingness to work for them with all their strength.

Some party organizations in Dresden Bezirk have already focused their work well on these requirements. That is true of the Robotron Combine and its enterprises. Its products are, in the level and efficiency of production, greatly determined by the state of application of microelectronics components while there is the closest cooperation with the designers and producers of these components. The Pentacon Combine in Dresden also works along a clear conception. Among other things, it is in its parent enterprise where new top products are developed by use of microelectronics. At the same time, a relative annual capacity increase of 80,000 working hours as being attained there.

The party management of the VEB Polygraph Planeta Printing Machinery Plant in Radebeul, assisted by the party's bezirk management, has intensively concerned itself last year already with the use of microelectronics and taken a resolution to aim the fighting strength of the party organizations purposefully, down to properly structuring the party forces, at this major emphasis task. It turns out the efforts of the printing machine workers in Radebeul have already borne fruit in scientific-technical progress. All their printing machines have gained the quality seal "Q" and co-determine advanced international standards. Plans fulfilled despite high growth rates for export, including exports to the nonsocialist economic region, attest to their fine performance. But these fine results precisely is what has taught the comrades at VEB Planeta that one must purposefully struggle for top performance.

Future top products in offset sheet feeding apparatus will be marked by a much more extensive application of microelectronics and thereby achieve another performance improvement and greater reliability in the quality of print. Whereas up to now electronics mainly served testing and control functions, now that use will more and more comprehensively also be applied to the printing processes themselves.

Party management in its resolution takes the position that the enterprise has all it takes to maintain top positions also in this development. That, however, calls for further increasing our own efforts, strengthening or, as the case may be, establishing socialist cooperative work with certain partners in the fields of science and industry, and organizing the training and advanced training of the cadres, especially of the mechanics, printing instructors, test engineers and the vocational training altogether in conformity with the new exigencies. The enterprise party management resolution contains precise stipulations for these and other steps, which were placed under permanent supervision by party management and the party organization, with special assistance from the science and technology party commission.

Some demands in the resolution also concern a stronger use of microelectronics in rationalization and in perfecting the technological production program. But vastly more work has to be done in this field, and that certainly does not only apply to the VEB Polygraph Planeta Printing Machinery Plant in Radebeul. Hitherto development has still too much been aimed on one particular step or another and has too little been determined by an overall conception. That doubtless has to do with the still limited possibilities for using microelectronics components. Yet even in this regard no party organization may possibly take a position expressed by a remark like this: "Once we get the circuits or the completed industrial robots, we are going to be able to do something with them for sure." If we do not want to lag behind, we must have clear and high objectives and must resolutely fight for their realization.

And that is not merely a technical and technological issue but it also concerns the political position in the collective and the proper political approach by the managers. Problems arise all along too, which the party organizations must be wary of and the responsible managers must solve with empathy and circumspection. In our socialist country of course, microelectronics will make no one unemployed. Yet, rather crucial changes may arise for individuals in terms of their responsibility, skills and activities. Some such questions, for instance, thoroughly occupied the comrades in the Riesa steel and rolling mill. There it is, in particular, a matter of using microelectronic controls for the rolling of steel. That way alone, for instance, the vast reserves can be used which make possible precision rolling and the rolling in the minus tolerance area and save thousands of tons of high-grade steel for our republic. The waste of technologically useless rolling residues can be greatly diminished. Thus far it has been the cylinder printing operator who, with his experience, skill, conscientiousness and also with the way he felt about the operation, determined the

degree of precision. There no one could put him to shame, and that was the basis for his accomplishment and also for the respect he enjoyed. But now a tiny microprocessor does the same job and does it more accurately still and is always reliable. And so what we need is utmost concern for the people, prudent preparations for novel measures to be taken, and joint decisions with respect to the further employment of such highly qualified workers in assuring their understanding and active participation in the use of the new technology. Here too we find a great need for a thoroughly considerate and politically purposeful leadership work by the party organizations.

SED bezirk management, in implementation of the Central Committee resolutions, furthers the activities of the party organizations directed at the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the development of microelectronics, draws general inferences from the best experiences, and systematically brings together the forces which only by being closely allied and by using the great possibilities and advantages inherent in our socialist order, can reach the proper speed in this field that is now necessary.

Making broad use of the fine experiences of the party organizations in the Dresden microelectronic institute, the VEB Polygraph Planeta Printing Machinery Plant in Radebeul, and others will help fulfill the further tasks in our microelectronics program. To ensure rapidly new and important advances and successes in this field, for great economic performance improvement and for our entire policy, which aims at the benefit of the workers class and all the people--that, with an eye to the 10th SED Congress, is a significant chain link of our political leadership work and of the struggle of the entire bezirk party organization of Dresden.

SED Halle Bezirk Management

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 13 Feb 80 pp 278-284

[Article by Dr Hans-Joachim Boehme, second secretary, SED Halle Bezirk Management: "Party Organizations' Fighting Power To Be Further Increased"]

[Text] What are the central tasks in the party organizations' leadership activity to strengthen their fighting power further for the successful implementation of the ninth party congress decisions and the preparation of the 10th party congress? How do we shape firm combative positions among all communists for improving our economic efficiency on the basis of the campaign programs of the basic organizations? How do personal talks with all members and candidates help further improve the fighting power of all party organizations? These questions are answered on the basis of experiences of the party organization in Halle Bezirk.

At the 11th Central Committee plenum and at the Central Committee secretariat's conference with the kreis first secretaries, Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker offered an extensive explanation of the new criteria for party work in the further implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions. The purposeful continuation of our program for full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability under the conditions of our intensifying international situation, which imperialism carries the blame for, and of the new foreign economy situation, now makes extraordinary demands on all party organizations and on the class standpoint, the combative stance, the exemplary activity and revolutionary discipline of every communist. Our struggle for the loftiest goals of mankind, after all, must thwart with all resolve the aggressive strategy of the imperialist forces, mainly those of the United States, which now threatens world peace, and must resolutely defend our peace through an all-encompassing political, economic and military consolidation of socialism.

When Comrade Erich Honecker, proceeding from the altered international situation, emphasized that decisions would be made in the 1980's that are of great consequence to the future of mankind, the communists in Halle Bezirk--as everywhere else in our country--respond by facing this struggle with energy and optimism, and they approach the solution of all tasks with clear ideas, rigidity and prudence, deeply convinced of the inevitable victory of our great and humane cause. In this process, growing demands arise for our party as the leading social force and for its working style in deep mass solidarity. Every step forward on our successful path of socialism and peace had and has its firm foundation in the strength and fighting power of the party. The greater, more far-reaching, more comprehensive and complicated the tasks become, the more conscious, disciplined and cohesive must become our party activities.

As party work always means service to the people, so also the steady consolidation of the party organizations' fighting power is not merely an internal task for the party collectives but serves the promotion and development of the creative initiative of all the people in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the safeguarding of peace. This realization and experience is what, especially at present, marks the political life and work of the party collectives in our bezirk party organization. It finds its impressive expression in a combative atmosphere on a high creative level which is necessary to implement further, and successfully, in the sense of the 11th Central Committee plenum, the ninth party congress resolutions and thereby to create the best preconditions for the 10th party congress and the further growth of power by socialism in the 1980's.

Fighting Position for Improving Efficiency

True to the Leninist principle that politics is the most concentrated expression of economics, our party work concentrates on implementing our economic and political tasks, on the full utilization of our important production potential for a maximum economic efficiency improvement at new orders of magnitude. What dimensions this involves also for our bezirk can be

glimpsed by the mere fact that this year, while decisively reducing our production consumption, we shall realize an industrial output nearly M 3 billion higher than last year. An outstanding share in it will go to combines like those of Buna and Leuna, where more than 50,000 people are employed, which intend an industrial output increase of 11 and 8 percent respectively.

The new criteria for economic efficiency improvements also raise the responsibility Halle Bezirk has for our country's economic development onto a higher level. It mainly means meeting the higher demands placed on political leadership activity--in the working style of the bezirk management, the kreis managements and the basic organizations. To that we have oriented the entire bezirk party organization in our bezirk management meeting summoned to analyze the 11th Central Committee plenum, where we worked out concrete tasks. Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of our Bezirk Management Comrade Werner Felde made the point there that it was important to reach the highest scientific-technical status more rapidly so that we can, principally in the chemical combines and enterprises, refine the raw materials and semi-finished products so much, by means of scientific-technical top performance, that maximum economic benefit results. Principal attention here is given to an accelerated development of microelectronics and industrial robots and the rapid introduction of this modern technology to production. Being the bezirk with the highest energy requirements, we also concentrate our attention on a more rational and efficient use of energy to insure maximum energy conservation by following the example of the people working at the Leuna Works.

To meet the high demands of our materials economy, we also orient the creative abilities and activities of our working people to still more effectively tapping the raw material and energy sources available in our own bezirk and to using soft coal, carbide, potash, kaolin and gravel for instance still more extensively for accelerating the growth of efficiency in our entire economy. Important reserves in economic efficiency are to be tapped in all industrial enterprises, mainly in the construction industry, through the rational employment and full use of our social labor capacity.

These and other major aspects of the bezirk's economic responsibility mainly determine the content of our political work in providing the kreis managements with greater managerial skills, so that they will rapidly and most efficiently focus on the new requirements, above all in their work with the basic organizations in the combine enterprises. For that we also make use of the longtime experiences of the four industrial kreis managements in our bezirk. After all, the consolidation of the party's fighting power essentially depends on how precisely the basic organizations of the combine enterprises in which many members of our bezirk party organization work prove themselves more and more as centers of political activity and of confident relations with the working people.

If already at this time nearly 90 percent of the enterprise collectives in our bezirk, including Leuna, Mansfeld, Buna, Stickstoffwerk Piesteritz, the four soft coal combines, Waggonbau Dessau, Pumpenwerke Halle, ZEMAG Zeitz, is successfully engaged in the struggle to achieve at least one extra daily production volume above and beyond the demanding planning targets for 1980 while simultaneously conserving energy, materials and raw material, we find the vivid proof right there that tells us the working people identify with our party policy and are turning that policy into their guide for action. It also attests to the vital political activity and radiating strength of the party organizations.

What is essential in this process is that the party organizations struggle for having all comrades fully realize that the far-reaching resolutions of the 11th Central Committee plenum offer a genuine challenge to the Marxist-Leninist knowledge, the intellectual and technical abilities, and the revolutionary thinking and conduct of each and every communist. Everywhere and under all conditions the party's overall policy has to be represented and enforced with prudence and creative elan and from well developed fighting positions.

How all this is increasingly better understood by more and more comrades is seen in the great need to become more thoroughly familiar with the content and essence of the resolutions from this important Central Committee plenum and to explore them together with other comrades. It is also reflected by the seminars, consultations and round-table discussions the basic organizations have sponsored to that end and in the exchange of views during the party study year, the creative consultations within the party groups and the discussions at the membership meetings.

Here one also finds the deeper causes for that the comrades today seek achievements together with their colleagues in the work collectives, through sound and convincing arguments and exemplary deeds, that were hardly conceivable previously. Take what comrade Karin Walther said, who is a chemical worker at Leuna: "Well prepared by the resolutions of the 11th plenum, we in the work collective Glykole H 55 have understood the high demands for the pace of the 1980's. Therefore we are adopting the campaign target to surmount our quota by one day each quarter." What meets the eye in particular is how thoroughly the recommendations for using all available reserves have been considered and the great expertise on which they are based, how little deficiencies and weaknesses in the production process are tolerated, and how concrete the inferences are that are being drawn for a high personal contribution to ensuring a steep efficiency improvement.

Campaign Programs at the Pace of the 1980's

Inspired by the resolutions from the 11th Central Committee plenum and the speech of Comrade Erich Honecker at the Central Committee secretariat's conference with the kreis first secretaries, the increasing fighting power of the party organizations is most clearly revealed by the substance and rigorous implementation of the 1980 campaign programs the basic organizations have prepared. What is new here is that the preparation of these

campaign programs was turned into a matter involving the entire party collective, as for instance in the basic organizations at Leuna, Buna, EHW Thale and Waggonbau Dessau. Thorough consultations within the party groups, problem discussions and the employment of working teams have generated many valuable ideas, suggestions and recommendations that have flown directly into the campaign programs. They form a foundation for the political activity in which every comrade engages on his own. That has a stimulating effect on their combative positions in implementing their lofty goals through the daily struggle for plan fulfillment.

The new aspect also is reflected in the concreteness of the requirements, in how by use of the qualitative factors in economic growth, scientific-technical progress can be tapped for a steep increase in labor productivity. Through the concentration on major aspects, the tasks themselves have become much more easy to understand, control and account for than in previous campaign programs. Now they orient the party collectives to the chief issues in any given area of responsibility. This in turn leads to a higher grade and concreteness of the obligations by the work collectives in socialist competition.

The new quality of the campaign programs and of the purposeful activities for their realization also finds its expression in that the political-ideological, the economic and the organizational tasks are understood as comprehensive concerns the solution of which determines an improved level of intra-party life. Because their model role and political radiating strength in the work collectives depend on deeply understanding the party's overall policy and on the mutual comradely support and education of the comrades, based on the norms of the party statute in the party collective. And that in turn crucially affects the mode of mobilizing all working people for the continued successful implementation of the tried and tested course of the eighth and ninth party congress, whereby the relationship of trust between the party and the people becomes still closer.

Many basic organizations, such as Junkalor Dessau, Baureparaturen Halle, and BKK Gustav Sobottka Roeblingen, have let themselves be guided by that realization, and they already have assigned concrete party missions to the comrades in the membership meetings in ratifying their campaign programs, and they are right now in the process of reporting on the realization of those missions by personally discussing with each other the control of the party documents and the orderly registration of party members and candidates.

The party organizations in Halle enterprises have in their campaign programs also oriented all working people to the struggle for the necessary high growth rates and the permanent improvement of economic efficiency. Important projects from the science and technology plan were placed under party supervision at Pumpenwerke Halle and at Industriewerk Halle-Nord. At Pumpenwerke, the science and technology plan is meant to ensure a 90-percent increase in labor productivity and a 10-percent increase in industrial commodity production.

Many campaign programs of today differ significantly from previous ones and have a mobilizing effect on the party members and working people so that they will in every way fulfill their high planning quotas and achieve a targeted overfulfillment of them at the pace of the 1980's. They thereby greatly respond to the reference made by Comrade Erich Honecker when he emphasized, with reference to Lenin, that the national economic plan is, as it were, the second party program, and that the campaign program of a basic organization expresses its own party-minded position on the decisive economic objectives.

With respect to the high targets of the campaign programs, the A shift of the II/3 urea plant of Stickstoffwerk Piesteritz sparked a public exchange of experiences under the motto, "Spending Less But Getting More," which has encountered a broad response in the enterprises in our bezirk. This novel initiative, generated in the discussions by that party group about its campaign program and its objective in the competition among the work collectives, aims at ensuring a high gain in efficiency everywhere. Although the comrades and colleagues, ever since this new installation went into operation, have been producing urea by steadily using less ammonia and last year, with 10 kg less ammonia per ton of urea, reached an international top performance, they have raised their 1979 target by another 0.6 percent. They are not satisfied with what they accomplish because they know the future will demand a crucial improvement in the materials and energy economy, another reduction in the specific raw materials and material consumption, any top performance of yesterday may already tomorrow be out of date, and any saving of ammonia, which comes out of natural gas, means a high gain in efficiency.

The point that matters now in the political leadership activity of all party organizations in the bezirk is to draw comprehensive generalizations from the experiences of the best operations in the implementation of the high objectives of the 1980 economic plan, because what is the best today, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized, is to become the social norm in preparation of the 10th party congress.

Heavy Demands for Intra-Party Life--The Source for Great Fighting Power

The membership meetings which concerned themselves with analyzing the 11th Central Committee plenum have visibly confirmed that the basic organizations' increased fighting power, and thus high achievements in the party and work collectives, will mainly come by way of a high-level and interesting intra-party life. "It is not enough to call oneself 'vanguard'--one must also act in such a way that all other units realize and are forced to recognize our being in the lead."¹ Helping all comrades politically act in that kind of awareness, in fulfillment of those words by Lenin, so that they aggressively champion our party policy and are mobilizing forces, passionate, combative and convincing, even under complicated conditions, and distinguish themselves by high achievements--that is what counts today more than ever in developing the intra-party life in each basic organization.

A comrade always has the eyes of all his colleagues on him. A communist does not live a comfortable life. Because our moving ahead does not come without conflicts. In our time of exacerbated class conflicts, and due to the complicated dialectics between internal and external factors, many questions are raised in the work collectives, and the colleagues expect convincing answers from the comrades. There also are places where the attitude toward work and public property, performance, thrift and quality leaves much to be desired, and a comrade must frankly and honestly lead the discussion about that. And then there are many other problems, deficiencies in the production process, or discontinuity in the supply of materials, which have negative effects not only on the output but also on the working climate. To take care of them one will always need the advice and exemplary progressive acts of the communists.

The more resolutely the comrades face up to these problems, prepare uniform positions on them in their party collectives and help and educate each other, the greater becomes their mobilizing power to cope with them. And this precisely is what distinguishes the work of more and more comrades struggling for high economic achievements in their work collectives. They know many new problems arise on the way we have taken. "We communists know them and know how to take care of them," comrade Otto Schumann, shift foreman at the BKK Erich Weinert Deuben, has said, and then he added: "That does not throw us off course. Every day in our time challenges the communists and their total dedication to our good cause. And every battle won, every problem solved, provides the strength for passing the fitness test the next day." And comrade Erwin Bergmann, initiator of the efficient full-capacity use of highly productive machines at Waggonbau Dessau, made the point that what matters is to tackle the problems as they are and to concentrate all strength on solving them and on making still better use of the available reserves instead of looking for "reasons" why something allegedly does not work.

With such firm fighting positions and such well developed fighting spirit, thousands of communists in our bezirk party organization are heading new initiatives today. They understand the new tasks as a challenge to creative action. They are much concerned that the kreis managements and basic organizations will draw general inferences precisely from their experiences and political motives for accomplishing high achievements and turn them into a guideline for action for all comrades. After all, it is a matter of seeing to it that all communists champion their firm class standpoint with great effectiveness and that they distinguish themselves by their revolutionary stance and activity. These factors are crucial to our further social progress.

The centerpiece of it remains the ideological training for all comrades so that they can, equipped with the best knowledge and arguments about our party strategy and tactics, meet their test as communist everywhere and always. That is above all imperative for a massively effective political-ideological activity by the party organizations, which is becoming increasingly more important. Basic for the effectiveness of this political

mass activity here is how ideologically profound it is and how relevant to life, how well one succeeds in always placing the main goals and ideals of the revolutionary workers movement in connection with everyday tasks and solve them that way. To be expertly informed means knowing about the essence and interconnections in our social development. That is what mainly counts today in all the political work of the communists. "We do live today, after all, in tempestuous political times, in a constantly changing world. New manifestations of the international class struggle and the changing situations virtually come into sight at the focal points of this struggle every day. This inevitably raises not a few questions for the people. They can be clarified all the more satisfactorily, the more persuasively our answers are in line with the inevitabilities of our era, of our political strategy of peace and with socialism."²

Personal Talks Strengthen Fighting Power

Within the process of implementing the 11th Central Committee plenum resolutions, the activity of the basic organizations reflects how the further strengthening of our party's fighting power, true to the principle of "Wherever There is A Comrade, There Is the Party Too," becomes an ever more conscious cause for all members and candidates of our party. This important concern also is served by the personal talks that have currently been started in the basic organizations for checking party documents. The membership meetings held for that purpose demonstrate how carefully, in the political-ideological and the organizational sense, this important task has been prepared by the kreis managements and the party executives in the basic organizations. What we attach special value to is that these personal talks are held in an open and deeply comradely atmosphere. Every comrade must get the feeling for how the party is concerned about the development of every communist and provides him with the wherewithal to learn to live up better and better to implementing the constantly growing demands placed on his most personal responsibility in our party. Thus these talks decisively contribute to further consolidate the unity and cohesiveness of our party ranks and to enhance the political activities of the party members and candidates as the successful preparation of the 10th party congress requires it. At the same time they are an important source for all party executives for making party work still more effective, based on the recommendations and initiatives of the comrades, and for an all-round high-grade and efficient implementation of the party resolutions.

Thus it became apparent in the basic organization of BDK Chemie, Betrieb Industriebau Bitterfeld that the comrades take a critical view of their own political activities and draw personal inferences from what they do. Not only do they place higher demands on themselves, it becomes clear, but also on the party executives, and they pertain in particular to developing meaningful party life and further enhancing the ideological substance of the membership meetings. They also ask for more concrete and accountable party missions and are making a point of their willingness to undergo more political and technical training in order to fulfill those missions with great effectiveness. Our political leadership activity in the checking of

the party documents and the proper registrations for the members and candidates has been concentrated on further strengthening the ranks of our Marxist-Leninist party in terms of class orientation. The SED, you will grant, is a vital organism, deeply rooted in the workers class and constantly developing, especially by admitting the best workers and active members of the socialist youth association. Thus we have steadily raised the proportion of workers in our bezirk party organization. It comes to 60.1 percent at present. Almost 100,000 comrades are engaged directly in material production. That is the highest proportion since our bezirk party organization was founded.

Using their rich store of experiences for maximum economic performance improvements is one of our most important concerns, to which we have oriented all party executives who conduct personal talks in checking the party documents. Another important aspect for conducting the personal talks results from the fact that more than one-fourth of the active party members in our bezirk party organization were admitted to the party after the eight party congress. Thoroughly discussing with these young comrades in particular how they might improve their performance in our party ranks and finding out about their ideas, thoughts and problems in this regard is of great importance for their systematic political development and for recruiting more capable cadres.

Through concrete control measures we ensure, via the kreis managements, a conscientious analysis of the results of these personal talks so that no recommendation and suggestion gets lost and new impulses are released for the struggle for the full implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions. Our political leadership activity is imbued with the deep realization that a successful mastery over the heavy demands the 11th Central Committee plenum has placed on all party work at the same time also is the best preparation we can give to all communists for the new tasks ahead that the 10th party congress is going to assign for the 1980's.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" "Werke" (Works), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 440.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 87.

5885

C80: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CLAUSEWITZ HAILED AS 'PROGRESSIVE' THINKER IN GERMAN HISTORY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 39, 10 Mar 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Intends To Place Clausewitz' in the Service of Socialist Military Education." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED intends to place the Prussian general and military theoretician Carl von Clausewitz, who will have his 200th birthday on 1 June, in the service of socialist military education. The theoretical party journal EINHEIT has now paid great tribute to the Prussian general's "outstanding practical and theoretical achievements which served social progress in his time." They counted "among the historic roots of the GDR" and belonged "to the progressive part of the legacy left to us from the history of the German people, which is being carried on at a higher level in the GDR only." This then especially entitled the GDR to place the work of Clausewitz "in the service of socialist military education." (EINHEIT 3/80)

GDR Military Historian's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 13 Feb 80 pp 314-321

[Article by Prof Dr Reinhard Bruehl, major general, director, GDR Military History Institute: "Carl von Clausewitz—Patriot and Military Theoretician." For translations of related information see items published under headings as indicated in the following JPRS issues of this series: "SED Pursuit of 'Positive Prussian Traditions' Analyzed," 73990, 10 Aug 79, No 1706, pp 11-13; "Renewed Interest Shown in Prussian History," 74590, 16 Nov 79, No 1738, pp 95-99; and "Commandant Discusses Military Academy's Intellectual Objectives," 72870, 26 Feb 79, No 1651, pp 35-43]

[Text] Carl von Clausewitz belongs among the men who initiated the bourgeois transformation in Prussia and thus activated the people's patriotism in its

struggle against alien rule at a time of the deepest national shame and feudalist absolutist exploitation. As a military theoretician he introduced the idea of development to military science and recognized the connection between war and politics. That was a weighty step toward elaborating a truly scientific doctrine of war on the basis of dialectical materialism.

Carl von Clausewitz, whose 200th birthday will be observed on 1 June 1980, entered the history of our people as a patriot and military theoretician. He along with Stein and Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Boyen, Fichte and Arndt belonged among those men whose work V. I. Lenin in the early 19th century hailed as a historic act in the sense of social progress. At a time of deepest national shame and feudalist absolutist exploitation and oppression, they initiated the bourgeois transformation in Prussia and strengthened and activated the patriotism of a large part of the people for the struggle against alien Napoleonic rule. That reserved an honorable place in our image of history for Clausewitz and the other reformers at the time.

We also appreciate Clausewitz as the outstanding military theoretician of his time. Friedrich Engels called him a "star of foremost magnitude."¹ At a time when wars were considered natural events, as it were, and when military theoretical thought had got stuck in the search for rigid systems of precepts and rules, Clausewitz asked about the nature and social determinants of war, placed his theory of war on the intellectual foundations of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and introduced the idea of development to military science. His principle of always gaging theory against reality and the critical examination of that reality which he was capable of made it possible for him to approach materialist positions, conceive of war in its complexity as a historic-social phenomenon, and gain deep insights into the connection between politics and war.

These outstanding practical and theoretical achievements which served social progress in his time make us treat the Prussian general Carl von Clausewitz with high respect and make us critically appropriate his legacy. To us this means at the same time a delimitation in principle from bourgeois-reactionary Clausewitz interpretations. It means misrepresenting his patriotism if it is interpreted as some nationalistic arrogance or some maudlin German sentimentalism that ignores the social conditions. It means mistaking his work as a reformer if it is regarded merely as a policy of improving and revising but, in principle, abiding by what had been. His military theoretical work is disparaged if particular views of his are torn out of their context, raised into dogmas or uncritically transferred to other conditions and circumstances.

We look at Clausewitz concrete-historically in the light of historical materialism and within the context of his time. This makes possible for us cogently to comprehend his personality and the greatness and limits of his work as well as its importance for his and for our times. From there we are using his historic achievement in the service of instilling socialist patriotism and training in military theoretic concepts, mainly for the officers of the National People's Army.

Patriot and Reformer

Born on 1 June 1780 in Burg near Magdeburg, Carl von Clausewitz--the son of a former Prussian officer--becomes an officer candidate at 12 years of age and takes part one year later in the war of the coalition of Europe's feudal powers against revolutionary France. In subsequent years, garrisoned in Neuruppin, it is only his zeal for education that distinguishes his service from that of other officers. Transferred to the Berlin academy for young officers in Berlin in 1801, Clausewitz enters that sphere of life which decisively affects his thoughts and actions.

The head of the war academy, General Gerhard von Scharnhorst, was "essentially a historic thinker,"² sharp in exploring real life and highly independent in his judgment. He had seen the superior combat method of the French tirailleurs, the scattered and skirmishing soldiers, and he had realized that method could not simply be taken over by the feudal armies. His critical analysis of the course and outcome of the campaigns between 1792 and 1795 made him realize the indissoluble connection on both sides between their warfare and their social foundations. As the French *levee en masse* (spontaneous armed rising) and its triumphs ultimately was due to the new bourgeois foundations of that state, the defeats of the allies were caused by their backward feudal absolutistic conditions. While for Scharnhorst, even before he realized this, the history of warfare had been a means for training the officers in the science of warfare as well as for overcoming prejudices and dogmatic rigidity, he now furthermore combined with his studies the intention to awaken understanding among the officers for the need for changes in military affairs and their social premises. Carl von Clausewitz becomes Scharnhorst's best pupil. The many-sided influence of his highly esteemed paternal friend shapes his patriotic stance as much as does his scientific performance.

The disastrous defeat of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstedt (14 October 1806) had revealed the rottenness and decay of feudal absolutistic Prussia and its military affairs. The Peace of Tilsit (9 July 1807) became not only the up to then "worst degradation of Germany" but "simultaneously a turn to an enormous national resurgence."³ After Tilsit, with the readiness for struggle against alien French rule, there also grew the anti-feudal movement. It only was not strong enough to overthrow the reactionary rule of the junkers and to enforce the bourgeois social order in Prussia by revolutionary means. Being territorially torn apart and, along with it, curtailed economically, politically and ideologically, Germany's bourgeoisie was not sufficiently developed to assume both revolutionary and national leadership.

Much as it was interested in getting rid of those restraints, it yet, being the propertied class, was greatly afraid of any revolutionary mass movements. While the antifeudal movement of the people's masses was growing, its full spread was prevented by a naive monarchism engendered by the centuries-old tradition of princely power sanctioned by the "grace of god."

That was the situation in which the liberal reformers gained ground. They represented a progressive aristocratic fraction and the bourgeois intelligentsia. They were led by far-sighted statesmen like Stein and patriotic and scientifically trained officers like Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Clausewitz and others. They stood in the front rank in organizing the struggle against alien Napoleonic rule and creating favorable conditions for it. Their patriotism combined with the realization that far-reaching changes in the social conditions in Prussia were indispensable prerequisites for its national liberation. They sought a condition of which they hoped that "all inhabitants of the state" would also be ready to act as "its native defenders."⁴

In this conviction they fought for reforms which the ruling feudal aristocracy, anti-people and anti-progress in its sentiment, would consider an attack on the essence of its own rule and therefore stubbornly oppose. The abolition of the peasants' feudal servitude did away with the nobility's hereditary privileges that had existed for generations. With the introduction of the liberty to exercise a trade and of the independent municipal administration, more feudal fetters, guild constraints and the rule of the tax collectors and garrison chiefs, fell by the wayside. If these and other measures did not eliminate the economic and political rule of the nobility, they yet encouraged the further inroads of capitalist production relations and bourgeois rights and thus strengthened the self-assurance of the masses. The military organizational commission led by Scharnhorst saw to it that the army was quickly and thoroughly purged of officers and generals who had proven themselves cowardly and incapable. It did away with the recruiting of mercenaries, company management, degrading corporal punishment and the nobility's monopoly on officers' positions, whereby it attacked a pillar of the political rule of the aristocracy.

While the reformers could not pierce the social and political conditions, their work had incontestably initiated the bourgeois transformation in Prussia. Their hope of being able to provide the people with a fatherland truly worth defending under the Hohenzollern monarchy by reconciling the nobility with the bourgeoisie turned out to be an illusion. And yet their work, devoted to social progress, still encouraged the people's masses in patriotically participating in the struggle against alien Napoleonic rule, whereby it assumed the features of a people's liberation struggle.

Clausewitz came home after having been a prisoner of war in France and since 1808 again was in direct personal contact with Scharnhorst. For 2 years he was his office chief and secretary in the newly formed ministry of war. In this function and as Scharnhorst's confidant, he also engaged in a close

exchange of ideas with other leading personalities. So he had not a mean share in the ripening of important decisions. His lectures at the General Military School in Berlin (since 1810) satisfied an important concern of the army reform and the approaching struggle for independence: preparing the young officers in the conduct of small war, the use of small troop contingents in the field, which Clausewitz regarded as a legitimate form of combat by people's units under arms.

By the Side of the Russian People

First however the Prussian king, through his alliance treaty with France in 1812, destroyed the hopes of the patriots for a people's war soon for the liberation from alien rule. Incensed by this shameful treaty, the reformers acted: Gneisenau retired from Prussian government service and went to England. Boyen, Arndt and Stein turned to Russia. Scharnhorst went on unlimited leave of absence. Clausewitz submitted his resignation and also wanted to go to Russia. But before he left, on Scharnhorst's and Gneisenau's orders, he wrote his famous memorial,⁵ in which he aggressively and convincingly explained the justification and prospects of the Prussian patriots' demands for the armed struggle and the mass armed rising against alien rule.

Clausewitz' entry into the Russian army was motivated by the hope that a defeat of Napoleon in Russia would also lend further impulse to the national independence struggle of the German people and force the Prussian king to dissolve his ominous alliance with France. And this precisely was the effect the victory of the Russian people and its army had in the war for the national independence of their country. Clausewitz, expressing the highest regard for the achievements of the Russian soldiers, took part himself on their side in several battles.

His historically most important contribution to the national independence struggle of the German people Clausewitz made however by helping bring about the convention of Tauroggen. On behalf of the Russian General Diebitsch, he conducted the decisive talks in December 1812 on the conclusion of a neutrality treaty with the commander of the Prussian auxiliary corps in the Napoleonic army, General Yorck. Clausewitz' patriotic concern and his judgment of the military-political circumstances turned him into a prudent and obstinate negotiator between the two generals. He must be given much credit for Yorck's decision that became the signal for finally starting the armed liberation struggle of the German people. His and other patriots' dedication to a just cause alongside the Russian people is one of those historic traditions in the comradeship-in-arms connecting the National People's Army today with the Soviet Army. The crowning glory of the work of the reformers came with the victory in the war of liberation of 1813.

After the court camarilla and other reactionary forces had been fiercely resisting the reformers and their work up to this stage, they now made the victory serve their own ends. Further social progress they did not want but—as Clausewitz put it—looked back to 1806. The reformer-patriots got no thanks. They were pushed onto side-tracks, treated rudely and, partly, forced to quit the service.

Admittedly, Clausewitz was promoted major-general and appointed director of the General War School in 1818, but the regulations in effect turned that into an administrative function where he remained without influence on the education and training of future officers. Now, as his wife said in retrospect, he was no longer in a position in practical life that could satisfy his need to be of use: "All his efforts were now directed at the field of science, and the use his work might some day have become the purpose of his existence."⁶ Through indefatigable and quiet work, he now drew military-theoretical conclusions from studying the history of warfare, especially the French revolutionary wars and the national liberation struggles of the European peoples between 1792 and 1815. Though his early death--Clausewitz died on 16 November 1831--kept him from completing as he had wanted to his work entitled "On War," he had fulfilled his intention to create a work that was not to be forgotten after 2 or 3 years. Since his wife, Marie von Clausewitz, nee von Bruehl, first published it in 1832, it has encountered increasing attention and dissemination in many languages and is still being studied and discussed today because of its high scientific rank.

Progressive Military Theoretician

Of fundamental importance in Clausewitz' work "On War" is especially his presentation of the nature and manifestations of war, the connection between politics and war, the role of the moral factor in war, the people's war, frictions during war, the relation between objective, ends and means, and the relation between attack and defense. It was not Clausewitz' intention to add another treatise on warfare to the unrealistic systems and compendia available. His own war experience and the study of more than 130 campaigns had made him realize that war is a multifaceted phenomenon affected by manifold conditions and circumstances and that warfare also is inextricably intertwined with any prevailing social conditions. He looked at every war in a concrete-historic sense but did not confine himself to viewing these various wars separately; he asked what the various wars had in common and what characterizes them as social phenomena. That explains his "intention to explore the nature of war manifestations and show their connection with the things of nature that go into their composition."

This methodological approach to the exploration of warfare and deriving military-theoretical views from it constitutes an outstanding scientific achievement for his time. Influenced by important philosophers like Kant, Fichte and Hegel, and relying on pioneering military-theoretical views, especially those of Scharnhorst, he came to the realization that war is part of politics and is essentially subjected to its laws. He helped the idea of development break through also in military theory. That meant more in the time when the transition to bourgeois military affairs began than a merely specialized and technical gain in knowledge. "His work," according to Franz Mehring, "was not only a scientific act but a military and, in his sense, political act as well."⁸ It significantly helped overcome the feudal-absolutistic image of war and military affairs and--something Clausewitz himself could not have any notion of as yet--signified an

important step toward producing a truly scientific doctrine on warfare--based on dialectical and historical materialism.

War as an act of violence--this is the way Clausewitz put it--"never is an isolated act." It "does not arise out of a sudden; its spread is not the work of a moment." "War always springs from a political condition and is caused only by a political motive." Thus it is "a true political instrument, a continuation of political interaction by different means." With this, Clausewitz combined the realization of "how different the wars are bound to be in terms of their motives and the conditions from which they emanate," or in other words, that they differ not only in terms of their military character but of their political character as well.⁹

This striking characterization attains a new quality of understanding in comparison with all previous attempts at understanding the connection between war and politics. War thus becomes removed from all sorts of mystical embellishments, unconditioned contingencies and conjectures and is seen as the work of men, or rather as means of politics and social interests. This being so, Clausewitz still could not break through the limits of understanding in his time and of his class standpoint. Politics to him still was not an expression of class interests but rather of the interests exercised by all of society "against other states."¹⁰

What was still needed--as stated in the "Communist Manifesto"--was a further simplification of the class contradictions, a still more clearly visible split of society into two large hostile camps, two large and directly opposed classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat, to be able to cogently prove that, and why, politics is an expression of, and serves, the class interests. What was still needed was the genius of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to be the first "to draw and resolutely develop those conclusions from it which world history has been teaching us. That conclusion is the doctrine of the class struggle."¹¹ Among their historic distinctions also is the evidence that war is the continuation of politics of a certain class by military means, that it is also inextricably intertwined with the domestic policy of the ruling class, and that, in terms of class content and political character, there are two different kinds of wars, just and unjust ones. That added a new quality of understanding to that of Clausewitz and established a scientific warfare doctrine.

Stating the epistemological and class limitations of Clausewitz does not slight his scientific distinction. "Historic distinction is not to be gaged against what historic personalities failed to achieve in terms of our own contemporary requirements but against what innovations they did achieve in comparison with their predecessors."¹² He who said that and also judged Clausewitz by that yardstick was V. I. Lenin himself. He creatively further developed the work of Marx and Engels, including their warfare doctrine, under the conditions of imperialism. Among his historic distinctions is that he proved the aggressiveness inherent in imperialism, disclosed the secrets of imperialist war preparations and fashioned for the workers class and its allies the basic criterion for judging just and unjust wars and the principles for their practical conduct. He emphatically advised them always to

"examine out of which historic conditions a given war has arisen, which classes are conducting it and for which purpose they are conducting it. Unless we do that, all our talks about the war will mean nothing but flogging dead horses, nothing but fruitless verbiage."¹³

The course of historic development, as is well known, has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist warfare doctrine. In the contemporary struggle for peace and for the national and social liberation of the still exploited and suppressed peoples, it proves an effective weapon in the hands of the workers class and all peace-loving forces, for which reason bourgeois ideologists are attacking it with many different arguments. In some cases they also still cite Clausewitz and not rarely take his statements in an absolute sense while they, furthermore, deny that there is a qualitative difference between his and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on war.

Reaction Corrupts Clausewitz' Work

The most widespread method bourgeois ideologists use to corrupt Clausewitz' work is to cover up or falsify what he himself could not yet see: the class nature of politics and war. From there they equate all wars and deny that it is necessary to distinguish between just and unjust wars. Proceeding further, they seek to infect the working people with some extreme nationalism so as to send them into wars that oppose their own interests and to make virtues like courage, steadfastness, dedication and willingness for sacrifice subservient to their own antihuman and anti-progressive goals. Along this line, the social-chauvinistic thesis of the "defense of the fatherland," propagated in World War I, found its shameful continuation, among other things, in the design by U.S. imperialism to misrepresent its criminal aggression against Vietnam by turning it into a "struggle for the national dignity of the United States," while currently the American people is being manipulated, by an unfettered anti-Soviet agitation of the worst kind, into the adventurist, global-strategic goals of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie for the 1980's.

In recent years the question has often been asked whether Clausewitz' thesis on war as means of politics has not been rendered obsolete in the age of nuclear missiles. That expresses the deep yearning for peace by millions of people and their justified fear of the devastating consequences of modern means of mass annihilation. We Marxist-Leninist share their desire for peace and understand their worry. At the same time, however, we are of the opinion that the danger does not emanate from the weapons as such but from the fact that in the hands of imperialism they are placed in the service of its aggressive, anti-progressive politics. At the same time, since the days of the Great Socialist October Revolution history has provided the evidence that weapons owned by socialist states exercise an effect that enforces peace because they are placed in the service of the working class having come to power and its allies.

Some bourgeois ideologists unscrupulously exploit the longing for peace by making politics through pseudo-theoretical horse-dealer's tricks. To that end they equate the question about the nature of war with the question of whether, in view of the existence of the weapons of mass destruction, war still is a feasible means of politics with promise of success. The Marxist-Leninist concept of the nature of war they thereby distort into the lie that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on war in principle affirmed war as a desirable means of politics on the part of the socialist states. Thus they hope to find in the eyes of the ones they have misled, particularly in spite of their seeming rejection of the Clausewitz thesis, understanding for their own mobilization and war preparations and for the use of their own military strength as a means of political blackmail.

By extending Clausewitz, however, Marxism-Leninism not only provides a comprehensive scientific characterization of the nature of warfare. Above and beyond it, it also raises the question whether wars are avoidable and gives a positive answer to that question. Because they had a good comprehension of their class interests, the communists always, even before there were nuclear missiles, have been resolute champions of peace and of the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems. And especially now, in the intensified international situation, the socialist states, tenaciously and firm in principle, are struggling for ending the arms race, reducing military confrontation, and continuing the process of detente. Yet precisely their scientific understanding of the nature of war as a continuation and instrument of politics and their knowing of the inherent aggressiveness of imperialism protect them from pacifistic illusions. They cannot admit any change in the military balance of power at their disadvantage, because the peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders is first and foremost the outcome of such a balance of power which sets a stop to imperialist aggressiveness. If the aggressive forces of imperialism nonetheless impose a war upon them, the Soviet Union and its allies "will continue their politics with the sole aim of defending the socialist fatherland and the achievements of socialism. This supremely just political and military goal will not be changed either in the case that we might have to respond to a nuclear attack by that same kind of weapons."¹⁴

The problem of the social character of wars, as contained in what has just been said, is something Clausewitz has not investigated, nor could he extend the recognition of differences in the character of wars all the way to the question about just and unjust wars. His critical view nevertheless made him realize that politics "may go in the wrong direction and serve the ambition, the private interest, or the vanity of those who govern."¹⁵ That realization, which Lenin singled out as a "step toward Marxism" helped shape Clausewitz' decision in 1812 to opt in practice for that side that was conducting the just war.

The experience he made there reinforced a realization in Clausewitz which he had gained in earlier campaigns and through the study of the history of

warfare, and that was the realization of the "value of the morally great as such" and of their "often incredible influence" in war.¹⁶ He had found that to the extent that wars were no longer conducted solely by the armies but by the peoples, the moral aspect of warfare was gaining increasing weight. Under approximately equal physical conditions (in equipment, arms and strength), Clausewitz considered that side superior that is of superior moral magnitude.

Yet even Clausewitz' concepts of the role of the moral factor remain confined within his epistemological and class limits. And furthermore, in his work "On War," he held them down to what he deemed adequate to his own more narrow purpose. And yet it is legitimate to supplement his brief statements by his practical military-political work as a reformer and his earlier statements. Knowing full well the moral decay of feudal absolutistic mercenary armies from his own experience, he emphasized that enthusiasm for the objective of a war was typical of the conditions of the people under arms. But that he thought possible only if the people was given a fatherland and was fighting on its own soil for its own interests.

Here it was possible only to sketch Clausewitz' military-theoretical achievement in its most outstanding aspects. He also left behind lasting achievements in other problems. That was possible because he studied war and warfare in a practical sense, in their development and change, down to their essential details, without getting lost in the particulars of the subject matters and events he examined, but exploring their essence, their interconnections and interactions in accordance with their inevitabilities. That turned his military-theoretical concepts into an important building block for elaborating a scientific doctrine on war, their essential parts having been critically absorbed in it.

The respect and appreciation the SED and our workers and farmers power grant the patriot and military theoretician Carl von Clausewitz are based on our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and idea of progress. His practical deeds and his theoretical work encouraged social progress at his time and therefore belong among the historic roots of the GDR. They belong among the progressive part of the legacy we have received from the history of the German people, which is being carried on at a higher level only in the GDR. And that precisely is the very reason why we are justified in paying tribute, in the critical-historic sense, to his work and in placing it in the service of socialist military education.

FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels, "Introduction to Sigismund Borkheim's Brochure, 'In Memory of the German Grandiose Patriots, 1906-1807,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 350.
2. Franz Mehring, "Militia and Standing Army," "Krieg und Politik" (War and Politics), Vol I, Ministry for National Defense Publishing House, Berlin, 1959, p 46.

3. V. I. Lenin, "The Main Task of Our Days," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 149.
4. "Scharnhorst's Draft for Forming a Reserve Army," "Scharnhorst der Schoepfer der Volksbewaffnung" (Scharnhorst Creating the Arming of the Populace), Ruetten & Loening publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 95.
5. Carl von Clausewitz, "Memorial," "Ausgewaehlte militaerische Schriften" (Selected Military Essays), Militaerverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1980, pp 140 ff.
6. Marie von Clausewitz, "Preface," "Carl von Clausewitz, Vom Kriege" (Carl von Clausewitz' "On War"), Ministry for National Defense Publishing House, Berlin, 1957, p 4.
7. Carl von Clausewitz, "Vom Kriege" (On War), p 10.
8. Franz Mehring, "Kriegsgeschichtliche Streifzuege, Gesammelte Schriften" (Excursions in Military History, Collected Writings), Vol 8, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 356.
9. Carl von Clausewitz, op. cit., p 10.
10. Ibid., p 730.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism," "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 8.
12. V. I. Lenin, "On the Character of Economic Romanticism," "Werke," Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 180.
13. V. I. Lenin, "War and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 24, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 396.
14. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 15 January 1980.
15. Carl von Clausewitz, op. cit., p 730.
16. Ibid., p 166.

5885

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS' ROLE IN COMMUNIST EDUCATION REVIEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 40, 12 Mar 80 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "Two Thirds of GDR Youth in FDJ: SED Emphasizes FDJ's Responsibility for Communist Education of Youths." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT has underscored the "great responsibility" of the FDJ for the communist education of GDR youth. The "SED's orientation to the FDJ," EINHEIT continued, meant "no departure from demanding communist education for all youth." Rather, the SED influence on all youths took hold "via a politically firm FDJ able to radiate." Even "youths lagging behind in their political and moral development" still received the targeted attention of the FDJ. EINHEIT stressed in this context that the "ideological diversion of the enemy" had to be taken into account in the communist education of youth today and all the more so in the future.

Of the total of more than 6 million children and youths up to the age of 25 in the GDR, two thirds, approximately 4 million, are organized in the communist youth organization, the FDJ, or in its children's organization, the Young Pioneers. According to EINHEIT, 2.3 million youths (out of a total of 3.3 million between 14 and 25 years of age) belong to the FDJ, and 1.7 million children to the Young Pioneers. (EINHEIT 3/80).

Organization Statistics, Tasks

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 13 Feb 80 pp 326-329

['Consultation' feature article by Werner Hannig, political researcher, SED Central Committee: "Communist Education of Youths"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress placed on its agenda the communist education of youths as a social task. They are therefore quite properly more than ever the topic of conversations and meetings. In youth brigades, youth projects, in our armed forces and already at our educational institutions, youth,

organized by the FDJ, performs outstandingly well and proves itself worthy every day of the care and promotion by the party and the state. "The National Youth Festival and the FDJ torch parade convincingly expressed the firm solidarity of youth with our party,"¹ Comrade Erich Honecker said in his report to the 11th SED Central Committee plenum. That also is part of the successful 30-year balance-sheet of our GDR.

Youth in the GDR Today

When we talk of our youth we think of 3.3 million young people between 14 and 25. More than 6 million children and youths up to the age of 25 live in our country. Of them, 2.3 million are politically organized in the FDJ and 1.7 million in the Ernst Thaelman pioneer organization. The FDJ has 255,000 young comrades. Some 94 percent of those who successfully complete eighth grade receive a 10-grade secondary school education. Almost all learn a trade. The fine balance-sheet every day for our 33,366 youth brigades or the deeds of the more than 12,000 young workers from other bezirks that joined the "FDJ Initiative Berlin," the thus far largest FDJ youth project in the long line of such projects since "Max Needs Water" and the Sosa Dan, attest to the achievements of youth as much as the obligation assumed at the 11th conference of the FDJ Central Council for the 1980 plan of achieving a benefit of M 1.366 billion through the "materials economy" campaign and saving 67,723 million working hours.

A high level of education and solid technical skill are not identical with a socialist class standpoint, to be sure, but under socialist conditions they provide good prerequisites for the development, through knowledge, of insights, convictions and moral attitudes on the part of youth. FDJ members are typical of our youth, so that it could be stated at the 11th SED Central Committee plenum: "Class-oriented education of our young generation is bearing fruit. We have an army of young fighters faithfully dedicated to the ideals of the socialist revolution and the goals of our party program. Their attitude is marked by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. That is the outcome of great work done by the party and the FDJ."²

Targets of Communist Education

The ninth party congress could proceed from clear socialist positions and outstanding achievements by most of the young people when it passed its resolution on further perfecting the communist education of youths. This topical task, which also addressed the far distant future, was derived, as one knows, from the strategic orientation of continuing in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, whereby to create fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

There has of course been communist education before the ninth party congress. As long as there have been communists they always cared for communist education, at least for their own children. What is new in the ninth party congress orientation is that the communist education of all youth was placed

on the agenda and assigned as a task to all society (not only to the communists). Essentially this amounts to instilling loyalty to the goals and ideals of the communists as contained in our party program. Communist education is class education, is education in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, is education in communist steadfastness under any conceivable conditions. This can be clewed in thousands of ways in life to an already budding communist attitude by young workers in production or their reliably fulfilling their duties in the armed forces.

Communist education means appropriating the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook to be able to judge correctly the revolutionary changes in the world from the communist standpoint. Communist education entails the shaping of a communist attitude toward work and the defense of our fatherland, it entails the shaping of a communist way of life all-around. Communist education proceeds from the revolutionary traditions of the workers movement and in that sense supplies historical consciousness. That is of special importance because the generations of today and of the future are born under communism and were not yet around when it took shape as the result of hard class struggles. "It is of course not necessary," as Hermann Kant once put it poetically, "every time one switches on the light to mumble in deep emotion: Oh, all the vast forests of the Paleozoic Era! Yet what came from what is something one surely ought to know, if only for not taking everything all too much for granted."³

Youth has little experience with the class enemy. Therefore, qualifying it in taking issue with the enemy's ideology is of special importance. The enemy's ideological diversion must be taken into account in communist education today, and all the more so in the future--if for no other reason but that of the technical possibilities of the mass media. The enemy's increasing anticommunist agitation in recent months has a great bearing on that demand. The enemy's efforts, however much they may vary at times, are essentially aimed at detaching the youth from the party. It is a goal the class enemy will never reach, however. "The bond tied throughout the three decades of our socialist revolution between party and FDJ, between socialism and youth, is indestructible," Comrade Erich Honecker said on the occasion of the 30th GDR anniversary. "It forms an essential and valuable achievement which we are passing on from generation to generation."⁴

Put on a general denominator, communist education of youth means preparing them properly for their communist future and teaching them understand and master the shaping of developed socialist society as a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. Communist education "ultimately is education in the readiness to work, to fight, to dedicate oneself to socialism, to the victory of our just cause all over the world. Communist education aims at instilling revolutionary characteristics in youth, such as respect and love for people and for life, strength of will, discipline, comradely sentiments and humility."⁵

The Youth Policy Principles of the Ninth Party Congress

The ninth party congress, in discussing the future tasks of the SED's youth policy, the main content of which is communist education, relied on tried and tested principles in Marxist-Leninist youth policy and longtime experiences. The youth policy orientation it decided on may be summarized in terms of four principles:

First, the SED always sees its youth policy as a firm component of its overall policy. The tasks for youth always are derived from the fundamental goals and tasks of the party. The orientation to a communist education of youth is a vivid example of it. If the 11th SED Central Committee plenum orientation to great economic efficiency improvement is picked up, one will always find youth right in front of it. The FDJ derived its tasks for 1980 directly from the 11th Central Committee plenum. It is therefore correct and necessary always to familiarize youths with the overall connections of our party policy and explain to them the increased demands resulting from the dimensions of our economic and social policy attained thus far and from the changed international and foreign economy conditions.

Second, it has always been the principle of the party to have confidence in and assign responsibility to youth. This youth policy position of the SED has received governmental authority by means of the youth laws. Practiced ever since the basic rights of the young generation were written into law, this principle proves itself particularly in solving economic tasks. Promoting the youth has always come together with making high demands. The competition initiatives of youth brigades and youth projects from the science and technology state plan provide striking evidence for it today. Experience tells us that—as long as purposeful political work is presupposed—a direct connection exists between the demand of the tasks assigned and their effect on the communist education of all involved.

"Confidence and responsibility," however, is not only an economic but a general principle of the party's youth policy. FDJ youth clubs are only one example showing that also in structuring the youth's leisure time it occupies a justified and necessary place. The strength of this principle lies mainly in its being applied constantly. Time and time again, and for every age-group, it is a matter of assigning responsibility early.

Third, it remains a youth task of the first rank to appropriate the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to act always, in word and deed, as socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists. Because even for the generations born and grown up under socialism it is true that the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook has to be acquired. Therefore it belongs among the irrevocable principles of the SED's youth policy to care for the study of Marxism-Leninism and combine it with the political struggle.

Fourth, a politically solid FDJ is a necessary condition for a successful SED youth policy. Communist education requires political organization.

"It is the task of the youth organization to structure its political activity in such a way that the youth while learning to organize will unite and struggle, educate itself and all those who regard it as their leader in educating communists."⁶ The FDJ was and is the active helper and fighting reserve of the party.

The SED's focus on the FDJ means no departure from the demand for a communist education for all youth. On the contrary. Party influence on all youths takes hold via a politically firm FDJ able to radiate. That is of course a high demand placed on the socialist youth association, mainly on the organization and political awareness of the working youth, on the solidity of the basic organizations and an effective representation of the interests of all youth by the FDJ. That is the reason why the tried and tested uniformity of the youth organization cannot be separated from the differentiated work it is engaged in with the various social and age groups of youth, the constant attention to diverse living conditions, degrees of education and interests. Even youths lagging behind in their political and moral development still receive the targeted attention of the FDJ.

Current Youth Policy Tasks for the Party Organizations

It conforms to the great responsibility the FDJ bears for the communist education of youth that support by its basic organizations is a major aspect of the work of the party organizations. Here account is taken above all of our experiences in the political work with those 5,000 FDJ basic organizations which, in preparation of the 30th GDR anniversary, were awarded the SED's banner of distinction with the portraits of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck--a symbol, as it were, for the youth's preserving the revolutionary traditions and for the further development of the role of the FDJ as the party's helper and fighting reserve.

In supporting the FDJ, the party organizations focus mainly on the following tasks:

The FDJ study year is the most important form in which the FDJ supplies Marxist-Leninist knowledge. The party organizations there assume their responsibility for selecting and training the propagandists and help the FDJ in conducting the study year politically and organizationally. In youth forums and meetings, veterans of our struggle and our work and party functionaries of our days familiarize the youths with our revolutionary experiences and our party policy. They make use there also of a book, the Ernst Thaelmann biography, and help the members of the socialist youth association to learn from the life and work of Ernst Thaelmann.

Youth brigades perform exemplary achievements in the economy and are breeding grounds for communist education and reliable cadres. At the same time they are the crucial basis for FDJ influence on working youth. The fostering of the youth brigades and the formation of new ones, their achieving at least one extra daily production volume for 1980, and their solving scientific-technical tasks therefore find the full support by the party, as Comrade

Erich Honecker has stated in a letter to the FDJ. Our party sees to it that every youth brigade has comrades working in it.

When concrete requirements are properly assigned to them and they are properly directed, youths will and can make a greater contribution to solving scientific-technical tasks. The Pair of the Masters of Tomorrow offers many opportunities for it. More should be asked especially of the creativity of young university and technical school graduates.

The party organizations pay attention to training and educating youths in national defense, recruiting young military professional personnel, and to the work of the FDJ public order groups.

The FDJ has a special responsibility for structuring the youths' leisure time in the socialist way. Therefore the party organizations assist the FDJ in consolidating its youth clubs and sponsoring youth dances and in further developing the FDJ song movement, and they are tasking the state and economic management organs for creating still more opportunities for youth leisure time activities.

The party organizations assist the FDJ in consolidating its basic organizations and groups and in recruiting young workers into the FDJ. They admit the best FDJ members as SED candidates and assign the young comrades to doing their party work primarily in functions of the youth association. "All SED party organizations have the duty to guide the party members and candidates working in the FDJ and to enable them to solve their tasks and organize their education to make sure thereby that they assist in the exemplary implementation of the party resolutions in the youth association in all fields."⁷

The party organizations support the FDJ in its leadership of the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization. They help implement the main task of the pioneer organization, which lies in providing the children with the party policy and the world-outlook and ethics of the workers class. They help enhance the independence of the pioneer councils, challenge the friendship pioneer leaders as FDJ functionaries in their work, and mobilize the social forces for the communist education of the young and Thaelmann pioneers.

The analysis of the 11th SED Central Committee plenum and of the Central Committee secretariat's kreis first secretaries conference provides a vivid example of how the SED leads the FDJ: The FDJ lets itself be guided in its work by the party resolutions, which are explained to the FDJ activists by experienced comrades, party executives advise the FDJ executives on the FDJ campaign programs, and the young comrades meet their tasks and functions in the youth association in line with those resolutions. The party also is concerned about a coordinated cooperation between all state and social forces and the FDJ. It always keep aware of the principle that without the FDJ there can be no successful youth work. It has written into its program the class duty of all communists to feel especially responsible for the communist education of youth and enables the comrades to fulfill that mission, mainly in its membership meetings.

Historic anniversaries, pointing to the future, mark FDJ work in 1980: V. I. Lenin's 110th birthday, the 35th anniversary of the liberation from fascism, and the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact. To them will be devoted the Fifth Friendship Festival between GDR and USSR youth at Whiteauntide in Karl-Marx-Stadt and the FDJ members' thorough study of Lenin's speech at the Third Comsomol Congress. Through this the communist education of youth is going to make further advances while we are preparing for the 10th SED Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 11. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the 11th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 61.
2. Ibid.
3. Hermann Kant, "Eine Uebertretung" (A Transgression), Ruetten & Loening, Berlin, 1975, p 39.
4. Erich Honecker, "Rede auf der Festveranstaltung zum 30. Jahrestag der DDR" (Festival Speech for the 30th GDR Anniversary), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 28.
5. Margot Honecker, "Der gesellschaftliche Auftrag unserer Schule, Referat auf dem VIII. Paedagogischen Kongress" (The Social Mission of Our School--Speech at the Eighth Pedagogical Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 17.
6. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Affiliations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 280.
7. "Statut der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Statute), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 27.

5885

CSO: 2300

LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

Articles Summarized

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 13 Feb 80
'Resumes' addendum

The Topic: Monopolist Strategy Against Peace and Progress

[Text] The following six contributions are published on this subject:

- 1) "US Imperialism's Aggressive Strategy on the Threshold of the 1980's" (pp 239-246), by Klaus Benjowski, economist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics.
- 2) "Monopolist Domination--Basic Characteristic of Imperialism" (pp 247-253), by Prof Dr Helmut Burg and Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Schwank, research director and deputy director, respectively, Institute for Research on Imperialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee.
- 3) "Securing Imperialist Domination Through an Authoritarian Course" (pp 254-260), by Prof Dr Ekkehard Lieberam and Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Roeder, research director and deputy director, respectively, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences.
- 4) "Mass Media as a Power Factor" (pp 261-267), by Dr Waltraud Daehne, study group director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics.
- 5) "Who Profits From the War Preparations?" (pp 268-269), 'Facts and Figures' report by Siegfried Ullrich, social scientist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics.

6) "Oil Profits" (p 270), 'Facts and Figures' report by Dr Joachim Nitache, economist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics.

Rationalization of Administrative Work in the Combine

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Sieber, director general, VEB Robotron Combine; pp 285-291. A translation of this article is published under the heading, 'Methods to Raise Combines' Administrative Efficiency Outlined,' in a recent issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The SED's basic conception for the growth of economic efficiency in the GDR also includes recommendations for rationalizing administrative work in the combines. By way of using results and projects in the Robotron Combine, experiences and means of rationalizing the administration through electronic computers and office machinery, for combine efficiency improvements, are presented in this article. The central point lies in gaining more manpower for production work.

Enhanced Product Quality--A Crucial Point for Economic Growth and Better Demand Satisfaction

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Klaus Steinitz, deputy director, Central Institute for Economic Sciences, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 292-298]

[Text] Improving the quality of end products becomes an always more important means for economic growth and efficiency improvement. What expresses quality improvements? What advances have been made in it in recent years? What now are the main directions for our further work in producing higher grade products in the combines, and what important tasks arise for it from the economic vantage point?

In Opposition to Pseudosocialist Theories

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Vera Wrona, research director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 299-306. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" is of undiminished relevance to taking issue with the conceptions of "socialism" advanced today by bourgeois ideologists as "alternatives" for real socialism. Starting from the basic issues of Engels' critique of utopian socialism, this article discloses the function and the illusory and objectively reactionary character of such conceptions of socialism, refutes their claim to be serving the "liberation of man" and presents the objective conditions for real freedom and all-round personality development.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 39, 10 Mar 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Attacks the Left: Conceptions of Socialism 'illusory' and 'reactionary'"]

[Text] In its most recent edition, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT has taken sharp issue with the leftist conceptions of socialism in the West. Nowhere had one succeeded "in getting even a step closer to real socialism from that basis." While condemning "capitalist exploitation as morally reprehensible," such conceptions yet in no way pointed to how it could be surmounted. They would rather "time and time again act as ideological means to keep the class struggle confined within the lines drawn for it by the capitalist class interest in preserving private property." For that reason, those conceptions of socialism were "not only utopian and illusory but, at the same time, objectively reactionary."

Among the various conceptions of socialism on the left, EINHEIT continued, there were, to be sure, "a number of differences," which would however vanish "as soon as real socialism becomes the subject matter they deal with." They were all agreed on rejecting it while seeing themselves as an alternative for real socialism. The "reactionary, and indeed counterrevolutionary character" of the various socialism conceptions could be seen most clearly in that the socialist countries were to be "ideologically undermined" by them and "the wheel of history be turned back in them." (EINHEIT 3/80)

Unity of Action Victorious Over Kapp Putsch

[Summary of article by Dr Hans-Joachim Krusch, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 307-313]

[Text] The successful smashing of the Kapp Putsch in March 1920 attests to the enormous strength of the unity of action in the workers class, which was established mainly by the KPD and leftists in the USPD and proponents of the united front in other

workers organizations. In those days reaction could, because of the policy of rightist SPD leaders, cheat the people out of the fruits of their victory, and yet the struggle had not been in vain because the struggle against the Kapp Putsch belongs among the mighty class battles leading to the fundamental turning point adopted by the GDR after the liberation from fascism.

CSO: 2300

SELECTION CRITERIA FOR FDJ FUNCTIONARIES DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 56, 11 Apr 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: FDJ Functionaries To Be Selected More Carefully."
A translation of the East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION article referred to
below follows this commentary]

[Text] The selection of the FDJ functionaries should be made "as carefully as possible," the second secretary of the Central Council of the communist GDR youth affiliation, Erich Postler, has urged. On the more than 600,000 youth functionaries of the FDJ depended "exceptionally much with regard to the reputation and efficiency" of the GDR youth organization, the "fighting reserve" of the SED, Postler wrote in the FDJ functionaries journal JUNGE GENERATION (No 3/80). In view of the "more complicated conditions of the class struggle," FDJ functionaries should have to meet higher demands. For that reason, "careful thought" was needed in the selection of FDJ functionaries. Their "socialist consciousness, political and technical knowledge and personal acts on behalf of socialism" should form a unified whole.

Requirements for Cadre Work

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 34 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press
7 Feb 80 pp 2-7

[Article by Erich Postler, second secretary, FDJ Central Council: "To Train a Fighter Means To Be A Fighter Oneself"]

[Text] The 11th Central Committee plenum at the end of the anniversary year of our republic drew up a balance-sheet on the successful work of our socialist youth association. What may well have been the most important outcome of our activity in recent years is that the political steadfastness of the FDJ members has kept growing and that the FDJ's strength of radiation has crucially affected the growing willingness of youth to implement through personal action the ninth party congress policy under any conditions.

The functionaries of the association--from the group leaders to the Central Council members--have had a particularly large share in this. In the FDJ executive elections, which ended in January 1980 with the local delegates conferences, again more than 600,000 young men and women received executive functions, circa one third of them for the first time. They are our association's large activists group. They enjoy the confidence of the more than 2 million girls and boys who belong to the FDJ. That confidence entails the responsibility responsibly to lead the groups, departmental organizations and basic organizations and successfully to organize the implementation of the campaign programs decided on. On them, the FDJ cadres, thus depends exceptionally much with regard to the reputation and efficiency of our association. And so it makes perfect sense that cadre work has always been a firm component of the FDJ's organizational policy.

At our 10th Parliament, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "We have a high appreciation for the work of the cadre of the youth association. It is a golden treasure for the FDJ and our party alike. There is a large number of functionaries who are model performers in their occupations and studies and talented organizers of youth affairs. With the increasing demands placed on the youth organization, the demands on the cadres increase of course also."

Those three sentences strikingly summarize what cadre work in our association is all about: the most important reserve for the FDJ's improved effectiveness in all areas is found in our functionaries' abilities.

We can resort in this to fine results and experiences, to an aware and dedicated group of activists through whose ever improving qualifications we also will ultimately, in a very practical sense, live up to our role as helpers and fighting reserve of the SED. And we always have to keep in mind that it is in our youth association where someone will become a "cadre" for the first time, which is to say, will have to take the first steps toward independently running a collective of the youth association while acquiring basic knowledge and skills in management activity. Of advantage is here that many friends can resort to experiences on the councils of the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization.

Where Do the Demands Made on the Cadres of the Youth Association Come From Today?

In his Central Council status report to the 10th Parliament, first FDJ Central Council secretary Egon Krenz said: "Communist education of youth means that every functionary himself must set an example. Unconditional loyalty to the communist ideals as expressed in the SED program, pleasure in working with youth and the ability to mobilize them for implementing the ninth party congress resolutions--that distinguishes the FDJ functionary of our days. We all know: to train a fighter means to be a fighter oneself!"

This mandatory orientation logically results from that the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, through which we also create fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, has made the communist education of youth an active agenda item. And this not only in the sense of setting down brilliant individual examples of communist thought and action but as a long-term program for the education of all youth.

The ninth party congress said it was the main task of the FDJ "to help the party educate steadfast fighters for establishing the communist society who act in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism." For the functionaries of our association this means becoming ever better equipped with that consciousness, those characteristics, and those political and technical cognitions and abilities that are of practical use within the association which will enable them to get somewhat closer to that great goal day after day.

What does that mainly mean?

1) In view of the revolutionary changes in the world, of the international class conflict, and of the intensification of the ideological diversion by imperialism, there is growing importance to the unity of party-mindedness, sound technical knowledge and emotional ties with the cause of socialism in the development of socialist personality, especially that of the cadres.

Any one-sided development of any of these characteristics will today less and less satisfy the complicated conditions of the class struggle. Socialist class consciousness is an important source for social activity and a decisive impulse for our overall social development.

2) The increasing demands placed on the cadre inevitably result from the increasingly conscious shaping of the developed socialist society, which goes hand in hand with the enhancement of the subjective factor, the growing leadership role of the party, the growing role of the workers and farmers state and of the social mass organizations including the FDJ, and with the growing role of the people's masses themselves. The superiority of our social order is mainly due to what our citizens deliberately do for our socialist republic.

For that reason one of our most important demands for the FDJ cadres is always to keep in touch with the mass of our members and to use every opportunity to confer with them and explain our party policy to them and to make sure that they receive the necessary information from the state and economic managers. For an FDJ functionary also it is indispensable that he understands the unity of politics, ideology, economics and national defense.

3) Our time demands of all cadres that they clearly comprehend the magnitude and impact of the new and complicated tasks in the development of our economy as frankly and clearly articulated in the 11th SED Central Committee plenum.

Above all we have to understand that fulfilling the main task in its unity of economic and social policy requires a growth of labor productivity and an improvement in the efficiency and quality of production to a degree no longer adequate to the development in the 1970's. That is the sense in which we are looking at the FDJ's economic initiatives. Our concrete annual targets are not contingencies for making FDJ work more concrete and economical. They result from objective social requirements. The discussion about high or low targets therefore is not a matter of toying with figures but a matter of our cadres' position on the national economic plan, a crucial question in socialist construction and in the international class struggle.

4) With our youths' higher degree of education, the higher cultural level and the marked and massive development of young self-assured socialist personalities, increasing importance attaches to the reputation and authority of the cadres. They depend on their achievements, abilities and personal characteristics. Especially young people are very keenly aware whether or not among those they call their leaders words and deeds coincide. Authority caused by respect is an especially important source, to any FDJ functionary, for heavy activities and achievements by the members of his group or basic organization or the functionaries of the kreis or bezirk organization for whose direction he is responsible.

And here it is of great importance just how he uses collective consultation for his leadership activity. The important management principle of collectivity must however always be combined with the strict exercise of personal responsibility. Lenin has said: "As the principle of esprit de corps among colleagues is important in dealing with the main issues, so also is personal responsibility and the power of personal disposition, so that there be no bureaucracy and no one can evade responsibility."

Authority is not granted through a job slot. One will have to work for it. Nor is it something acquired for once and for all. Personal characteristics have a great bearing on the respect our cadres enjoy. Especially among the youth, sincerity, honesty, the courage to take risks, love for work, assiduity, clarity and strength of principle play a very great role. He who demands achievement must be an achiever himself.

All this adds up to the fact that the demands placed on the FDJ cadres are objective in nature. We cannot pick and choose among them. They are determined, not by papers, but by the external and internal conditions under which we are implementing the socialist revolution in the GDR.

We Are Building on Sound Foundations

In the further implementation of the targets assigned by our 10th Parliament, we can proceed from sound foundations of what we have so far achieved.

Today's FDJ activists are intelligent young citizens of our state who were well trained in our socialist school and educated in communism, born under socialism and grown up under the conditions of our workers and farmers power.

Year after year circa two thirds of the elected functionaries already bring with them experiences from previous FDJ functions. That is an important stabilizing factor.

Thousands of FDJ members belong to the SED. Most of them exercise FDJ functions.

For training volunteer activists, the "group leader school" and the monthly "FDJ secretary day" amount to a sound experience in steadily forming the qualifications of the most important functionaries and have reached a respectable level in many kreis organizations. The bezirk youth schools have become important places for training volunteer functionaries. More than 17,000 functionaries are trained there annually.

Among the regular cadres the number of university and technical school graduates is rising constantly. As a rule, each has attended a political school of the FDJ. It enables particularly the friends at kreis management to work ever more expertly with the great number of volunteer functionaries, to give them effective assistance and be their good partners.

The number of girls and young women exercising functions in the association has risen greatly. They make up more than half of the activists in our association. Especially in important managerial functions their number has grown visibly. In the last 5 years alone it doubled for first kreis secretaries.

What Matters Now In Our Cadre Work In View of Results Achieved and of Increasing Requirements?

We must always be aware that the growing leadership role of the working class party in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR also raises the responsibility of its helper and fighting reserve, the FDJ. But that mainly means training cadres who can satisfy the higher requirements.

V. I. Lenin, whose 110th birthday will be celebrated on 22 April 1980, pointed early to the role of the functionaries in the revolutionary movement and demanded that first-rate importance were to be assigned to their purposeful development and training: "Not one class has come to power in history without producing its own political leaders and progressive representatives who were able to organize and lead the movement."

These were thoughts Lenin uttered as early as in 1900. Proceeding from them, Lenin, for each phase in the development of the revolutionary workers movement and later during the socialist construction of Soviet Russia, derived the tasks applying to the selection, development, training and use of the cadres. Among his writings is a "letter to a comrade about our organizational tasks" of 1904, which conveys a lesson that is still important for us today. He points out that "for the various aspects of revolutionary work various abilities are required and that sometimes a person completely unsuitable as

an organizer may be an indispensable agitator, or a person not suited for strict conspiratorial discipline, may be an excellent propagandist, and so forth."

To us today that means we should be as careful as possible in selecting our young friends for leadership functions and possibly give everyone assignments he is best at in accordance with his abilities. Which of course does not mean everyone should only do what comes easy to him, should have an easy job. And furthermore, of course, we in the youth association have to be mindful of the fact that most friends test their abilities as leaders or as members of leadership collectives for the first time. It means we cannot know from the outset where their political strengths in political work might lie. After all, it is one of our duties to instill and shape these characteristics and ultimately reinforce them in a particular direction.

The long and short of it is that careful thought is required in each FDJ collective when it comes to electing those who are earmarked for management. A particularly great role plays here of course who the group leader, the AFD secretary or the secretary of the basic organization is. An answer to the question of who the most suitable friends are comes neither from the grades nor the work achievements nor the political knowledge of an individual as such. We must always view the entire personality. And then it will be found that those enjoy the widest recognition in the collective who display socialist awareness, political and technical knowledge and personal acts on behalf of socialism in unity.

It also of course involves skill in organizing FDJ work and in motivating people for our cause. That however is a characteristic a youth functionary must mainly acquire through his practical work.

These principles for correctly choosing those to whom the leadership over FDJ collectives is entrusted⁴ also apply to those youth functionaries who are chosen or appointed for leadership functions on the kreis and bezirk executive boards.

We take account of the fact here that our association, as the unified socialist youth mass organization in the GDR, in its statute declares the working youth to be the nucleus of the organization. That of necessity brings it about that among the cadres there is a strong representation of those friends who themselves are or were engaged in material production.

Any serious activity in life calls for appropriate training and direction. That is all the more true for a political cadre, especially an FDJ cadre. The functionaries in the basic organizations are responsible for the direct implementation of the 10th Parliament and FDJ Central Council resolutions. Most assistance thus has to be given to them, and mainly to the secretaries of the basic organizations and the group leaders.

What do they need? They need knowledge about SED policy and about where the argument stands. They need to know the basics on how to run an FDJ collective with success. They need exchange of experience with friends in other groups and basic organizations.

All that is supplied above all by the regular meetings organized by the basic organization or kreis management executive. Different as the experiences may be, the monthly "group leader school" in the basic organization and the "basic organization secretary's day" in kreis management remain the basic forms for training these functionaries for their tasks. This program is then supplemented by weekend training, in which the members of management also participate, and by having those friends charged with an especially heavy responsibility attend the bezirk youth school. Diversified training and direction is also suitable and necessary for those friends who are in charge of particular management tasks. Agitators of course must get frequent and regular information and arguments.

For the functionaries of the basic organizations and groups, political education and instruction in their practical work cannot be separated. All that must be well balanced and well supplied. The focal point always is that every friend learns to explain SED policy to his members and inspires them to do everything they can for its implementation.

A natural criterion for cadre work in the youth association is that the functionaries change relatively fast. Not rarely one can hear the complaint: he had just worked himself in and now he is already gone again. There usually are natural causes for this fluctuation that have to do with transfer from the secondary school to vocational training, from there to the army, then to production or into studies and so forth.

And then altogether this: as the youth age has its limits, so also has the time for being an FDJ functionary. After all, among our duties in the youth association is to help train cadres for the party, the machinery of state, the economy and other social tasks. Thus we must reconcile ourselves from the outset to that every year thousands of young friends, by being chosen for FDJ management, receive their first social function. Others face new problems when they change their basic organization. Time and time again it means instructing in basics and helping another generation of FDJ activists meet their tasks better, if possible, than the generation that came before them.

That also implies we should do everything to avoid any unnecessary change in cadres. Also important is that those friends who have already exercised a function with success will not have to start as an unknown quantity in the new basic organization into which they transferred. Not recommending them for another task in management would mean wasting a lot of experience.

Permanence in cadre work, on the other hand, naturally does not mean shying away from replacing an executive member who--for whatever reasons--cannot manage his job by another FDJ member who turns out to be more suitable for practical FDJ work.

Care in selecting the most highly respected and suitable friends for functions also is the best way for providing the work in each FDJ executive group with stability and continuity.

"We have an army of young fighters loyally dedicated to the ideals of the socialist revolution and the goals of our party program." This high tribute, addressed to the FDJ, came from Comrade Erich Honecker at the 11th SED Central Committee plenum. To us, that amounts mainly to the obligation to keep doing everything for this goal in the future. The crucial responsibility for it lies with the cadres, the functionaries of our association.

5885

CSO: 2300

PAPER TEXTS WOODROW ARTICLE ON RELIGION IN HUNGARY

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian Jan-Feb 80 pp 1-2

[Article by Alain Woodrow: "Believers in Hungary"]

[Text] Alain Woodrow is the religion expert for the Paris LE MONDE. His Budapest report was originally published in the large French daily in two parts; we have taken it from there in its entirety, retaining the chapters and subheadings, with the kind permission of the author.

I. Divide et Impera

At the time of his visit to Budapest in 1964 Nikita Khrushchev called Hungary the home of "goulash socialism." The air of the Hungarian capital is really lighter and more exotic than, for example, that of Bucharest, East Berlin or even Warsaw. Hungary does not know the political tensions of Czechoslovakia, the dogmatic rigidity of Romania, the iron discipline of East Germany or the economic crisis of Poland.

It does not know them—not for the time being. But the political, social and economic situation of this little country in the heart of Europe is delicately balanced and the large Soviet military force which has been stationed in the country since the revolution suppressed in 1956 is a constant reminder that the "big brother" has not the least idea of giving up this key country which was always the route for the big invasions, the march of the Tatar, Turk, German Slav and Balkan, and which is now part of the "zone sanitaire" drawn around the Soviet Union.

The foreign tourists arriving ever more thickly--12 million of them in a country of 10.5 million last year!--generally experience with surprise the relative plenty of goods. Virtually everything can be found in the shops, a few of which are in private hands, from American cigarettes and whiskey to other luxury items brought in from abroad. Nothing is in short supply in the food shops, standing in line is only a distant, bad memory from the 1960's; the Hungarian eats well and lifts his glass with a light hand.

Their women are flirtatiously dressed--long hair, jeans or miniskirts--and their boys would pass in any large city around the world. The guest comes out of the carefully planned Hilton hotel among the walls of an old monastery building, takes a turn about the Fishers' Bastion, glances at the greening Buda hills or the capital stretching out beneath him and a block farther on is received by a mellowed folklore--national food specialities steeped in Gypsy music. The Vorosmarty confectioner's shop was carefully restored after the war with its original decorations, gold ornaments and glass chandeliers, one of the last witnesses of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and he who likes pastries with whipped cream and likes to look at the figures of the no less appetizing waitresses would think himself in the Imperial City of the happy years of peace.

But another surprise awaits the western traveller too--the traffic jams on the streets of the capital. Buses, trams and the subway cost only fillers, the density of the sidewalks is adequate and yet private automobiles really flood Budapest. Perhaps because they are the chief sign of consumption, a so-called "status symbol", the number of private cars has jumped from 31,000 in 1960 to 800,000 today. According to data published at the beginning of 1979 iceboxes, washing machines, radio and television sets can be found in 70 percent of the Hungarian households.

Panem et circenses. The leading group which came to power after 1956 woke up to the fact that the masses could be kept in check most easily by turning them toward consumer goods. After the executions and imprisonments and the consolidation of the new regime, Janos Kadar, a clever strategist and a passionate chess player, carefully prepared the 1968 turning, the epoch of the economists who realized the "economic miracle," and the consumption fever began in the early 1970's as a result.

But now this strategy is running into two obstacles. On the one hand the waves of the world crisis threaten the extraordinarily sensitive Hungarian economy-- trade provides half of the national income. On the other hand the competition for material goods has created at least as much a feeling of lack of satisfaction and the Communist leaders are now rather belatedly noting that the "spiritual void" is just as harmful to the party as to the church, and the wane in priestly vocations shows the same declining curve as applications for party membership.

Holy, But Fanatic

If they knew how to do it the churches, on their part, might be able to fill this "spiritual void" because among the youth there is a sort of circumscribed but definite interest in religious questions. A well known historian said in the course of our conversation: "There are signs which do not deceive. On television I saw soccer players who put on crosses before going on the field and I saw young singers with crosses on chains around their necks who do not refrain from going before the audience, without questioning, to speak about their faith. And you may call it a folklore phenomenon but I

also know young people who live in the enchanted circle of mysticism, of Buddhism. The west has not yet given us the punk movement, the fashion of sham sects or drugs but I can say that the young generation is seeking an ideal which neither the party nor the church offers them successfully."

Zoltan Kocsis, the most outstandingly talented pianist of his generation, says something similar: "Naturally I am a believer. Like many of my friends in the musical world. I am a Catholic, although not a practicing one. I prefer to discuss religion among friends."

The indifference toward the churches is growing among the youth although among the Catholics, for example, the weekly practicing of the religious life is higher than in France--20-25 percent. The explanation of the suspicion evidenced toward church leaders is that they have knuckled under to the regime too much! In any case, this behavior is not new. Beginning in the 16th century, in opposition to the "nationals" and the Protestants, the Catholic Church hitched its wagon to the Habsburg power. There are few rewards for the submission of the church leaders (Jean-Marie Domenach writes somewhere: "In Central Europe the communist power had only to take over the inheritance of Josephinism") although it is also true that the opposing forces are uneven and the possibilities for initiatives are very few.

At the time of Prince Primate Mindszenty the Hungarian Catholic Church tried to say no to the new lords but in the end the principles of realpolitik won in the country and in the Vatican alike. Imre Miklos, state secretary and chairman of the Church Affairs Office, comments as follows on this attempt: "Immediately after World War II the churches, especially the leaders of the Catholic Church, turned against the people's democratic transformation and openly expressed their rejecting opinions in a number of pontifical letters. It is well known that before the war Hungary was called the country of 3 million beggars. And justly so, because it was a country of landless peasants while the largest estates were in the hands of the Catholic Church. This in itself shows why we had to declare war against certain significant church forces in the interest of land reform."

Cardinal Mindszenty, archbishop of Esztergom and prince primate of Hungary, was the symbol of these forces. According to Gyorgy Aczel, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, "Jozsef Mindszenty, in the spirit of the feudal tradition, regarded himself as the highest state dignitary and thus opposed the land reform which was liquidating the great estate system, the democratic republic which was replacing the monarchy and the law which proposed the separation of church and state."

It should be remembered that Cardinal Mindszenty was sentenced to life imprisonment in his 1949 trial and only the 1956 revolutionaries liberated him from his captivity. He then said on the radio that he was at the disposal of the country. "He was a holy man, but a fanatic," we were told by someone who had been confirmed by him. "He did much damage to the church by his refusal to bend. His role was a good pretext for reprisals." For

15 years he could view impotently from his refuge, an apartment set up in the building of the American embassy, how the relations of church and state slowly improved in his country. In 1964 the Vatican and the Hungarian state signed a partial agreement on the appointment of new bishops and the return of the Hungarian Papal Institute in Rome. In 1968 there were new discussions in Rome with a representative of the Church Affairs Office. The first appointments of bishops took place the next year. In 1971 Cardinal Mindszenty left the country for Austria; 3 years later Pope Paul VI relieved him of his office as archbishop of Esztergom. New bishops were appointed in two stages thereafter and since April 1979, with the appointment of four new bishops, all offices in the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy have been filled.

For a Mess of Pottage

So, in its turn after the others, the Hungarian Catholic Church also finally "normalized" its relations with the communist system. But did it sell for a mess of pottage its right as the firstborn son? This was the opinion of one of those who talked with us, who is close to the church hierarchy: "They humiliated the church, cut off its head. It is a living body, but without a head. It is characterized more by mediocrity than by vileness."

Such a severe human judgment of the church leaders--including the leaders of the other churches too--is not an isolated phenomenon. When the leaders of the country signed agreements with the various churches--the Reformed, Evangelical, Catholic and Jewish churches and with the free churches, the Baptists, Adventists, Pentecostals, Methodists, Nazarenes, etc.--between 1948 and 1950 they neutralized them and turned their strength as an opposition toward "useful" goals--patriotism, international peace, the defense of family values and public morality.

The state finally realized that the churches were not dangerous but could even be allies from time to time. Sandor Kopacsi, former Budapest police captain and a victim of the Kadar repression who was freed in 1963, said, "The communist leaders know well the good old slogan of the Habsburgs--divide et impera!" They talk separately with the several churches thus strengthening their mutual suspicion in a situation in which official ecumenism does not exist in practice; then within each denomination they arouse the suspicion of the believers toward the church leadership, inundated with plenty of privileges.

Time Bomb

The churches in Hungary enjoy financial support from the state; the chief officials receive a minister's pay but even the simple priests do not live badly; even they get the social allotments and a pension guaranteed by the state. The churches can "operate" as long as they do not step over the strictly defined lines; they can hold services, they can teach the catechism, they can give the sacraments to the believers, they can see to their own replacements, they even have the right to publish devotional

literature, in a limited number of copies. But all this is structured from above, planned in advance, and controlled. In contrast to this all initiative from below is stifled in ovo; even "horizontal" contacts at one level are not desirable.

The Hungarian Marc Rakovski writes in the French journal ESPRIT: "The conservatism of Hungarian Catholicism was not only opposed to the new social system but also was a brake on all attempts at renewal within the church. When the church became weary of political opposition there was a great uniting on the basis of liturgical and theological conservatism. The Church Affairs Office, with the right of investment, respects not only the baroque form in the rigid ritual forms. It also knows that formalism is a tool for control."¹

The Hungarian leaders know that consumer competition is coming to an end and so they are trying to turn the expectations of the populace in another direction. They have begun, for example, to fan the fire of nationalist feelings--cautiously, of course, lest there be another '56 out of it. There is a proliferation of historical studies and publications (some of which are published in as many as 40,000 copies) and they vigorously recall the unfortunate position of the 2 million Hungarians in Transylvania. The Power has given the churches a role in this fine game too, the purpose of which, of course, is to strengthen the status quo. The emphasis on the persecution of Hungarians in Romania--those Hungarians whose cultural affiliation is expressed in their Catholic faith too, as with the Poles--keeps awake the patriotic zeal and strengthens national union.²

A historian, who is unable to observe the present political waves close at hand, burst out to us thus: "There is no more shameful game than to fan national passions in order to keep people in check more easily. The church would do better if it did not take part in this game but rather listened to the complaints of the dissatisfied Christian believers here and tried to satisfy their spiritual needs. That intellectual and political anarchy which can be found here offers unparalleled opportunity for a spiritual renewal. The state is playing with a time bomb--and if the church is not careful it will again find itself on the wrong side of the barricades."

II. There Is No Synthesis of Saint Thomas Aquinas and Karl Marx

Are there "dissidents" in Hungary? If we only think of how outspokenly those who talked with us publicly criticized the regime we would have to believe that there was unlimited freedom of speech. It is really very large. It is easy to get the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Austrian television; and the dimensions of the country favor contacts.

But censorship exists vigilantly in every area. It was in vain that it was legally abolished the first day after the war. "Censorship has an important role at every level of publishing and editorial decision making," writes Zsolt Krokovay in his collection of Hungarian samizdat titled "Opposition:

0.1 Percent" by the Seuil publishers in Paris. "In the first place there is self-censorship. The poet feels that some harmless seeming adjective could endanger the further augmentation of his life work."³

Or as someone else put it to us more concisely: "There is a little policeman in the head of each one of us--the censor."

Political opposition is little organized; the "dissidents" are tied to one another only by loose threads. The only intellectual circle with cohesion is the "third generation" of the Lukacs school. (The second generation was forced into emigration.) Its members are young, most of them atheists and a good many of Jewish origin. They refer to the philosophy of Gyorgy Lukacs and support the signers of the Prague Charta 77.⁴

Another, good bit larger organized group is that of the "narodniks." They are peasants, intellectuals and nationalists who try to revive the "Hungarian soul," the cultural and folklore traditions.

Very few "dissidents" can be found among the Christians, and those mostly in the little free churches. But one can observe a broader or narrower gap in every church between the leadership and the believers. According to a young Reformed Church pastor active in an outlying district of Budapest the lower ministers have regarded the church leaders, for at least 10 years, not as representatives of the church but rather as representatives of the state, feeling, indeed, that in a conflict situation this leadership would not stand with them. Although the leaders of the Reformed Church did awaken to the danger of the gap and elected a new bishop 3 years ago, in the person of Dr Karoly Toth, an amiable, intelligent man and clever politician, who has tried since then to rewin the trust of the "base." According to Dr Karoly Toth, who is also chairman of the Christian Peace Council, "The situation is gradually improving; the Marxists have learned much and so have we. The regime has finally come to a most rational position in regard to religion."

This was not exactly the opinion of those 12 Methodist ministers (whose church consists of 17 ministers, two lay preachers and 3,000 believers) when they announced their break in 1973, thus to protest against the behavior of the Church Affairs Office which had been bearing down on their church. When the state wanted to force on them its own candidate for the office of intendant (thus proceeding illegally, because the office must be filled by free election every two years) the youngest ministers protested vigorously.

Thereafter the Church Affairs Office recognized only the permissive minority and it started proceedings against the ministers leading the rebel majority for "abuse of the right of assembly." Giving them probation and deferment, they were sentenced to prison terms of 6 months to a year. The ministers however, supported by their congregations, continue their struggle, unconcerned by the fact that the civil authorities and the superiors of the

official church fraction have deprived them of their goods, driven them from their dwellings and requisitioned their churches.

In Szeged and Gyorkeny, where police earlier broke up peaceful meetings, the Methodists now meet in cellars. In Kispest, a worker suburb of Budapest, the authorities closed one church and then gave the building to a producer cooperative. Here, for a year now, defying the vicissitudes of the weather as well, the believers have participated in services under the naked sky. The denomination's only church, with two dwellings, remains in Nyiregyhaza. At the beginning of this year the schismatic community decided to found a new church under the name "Church of the Gospel." But the state rejected their request for recognition even though the law earlier recognized the splitting of denominations.

"In the first place we are protesting," said one of the schismatic ministers, "against the fact that our church leaders make compromises with the state. As a result of this they get privileges (higher pay, official cars, travel privileges, guaranteed admission of their children to the best schools and universities) which scandalize the simple believers; and what they must give in return is to kow-tow before the political power, support it, justify its domestic and foreign policy and not even recoil from spying on the members the church held to be subversive!"

A Monarchic Church

In several other smaller denominations, among the Adventists and the Nazarenes, dissatisfied schismatics have also demanded their rights while the Hungarian Catholic Church has succeeded in preserving its monolithic character. Ferenc Magyar, editor of the Catholic weekly UJ EMBER, says, "The Church continues to be ruled in the spirit of the monarchic model; the bishops are nostalgic lords. And the tradition of the institution is so strong that even the young priests quickly knuckle under."

It is probable that this is one reason for the decline in priestly vocations. There are now 302 novices in the five seminaries representing the 11 dioceses. In 1948 there were 600. The 40-50 new priests ordained each year are fewer than those dying. The life expectancy of the priesthood is relatively high. In the words of Ferenc Magyar: "The essence of the problem is that the bishop's vocation is more widespread than the simple priest's vocation!" It is not the picture of this Church, which guarantees "careers," which lives in the moral dreams of the youth.

And dispute has no place in the Catholic Church. Neither the church nor the state tolerate worker priests. When one priest decided to live from the work of his two hands and thus be dependent materially on neither the believers nor the state his own bishop, Cardinal Lekai, saw to it that he would be forced increasingly to the perimeter on his chosen course. The believers, for their part, whose realm thus begins to be shaken in the institution,

increasingly and in larger numbers come together in a sort of "basic commune," with or without their priests. These gatherings, "difficult to control," disturb both the church and the state. The Bench of Bishops recently sent a warning to these communities, warning them that they had no right to break away from the other unit legally recognized in the diocese, the parish, because "this split might gnaw at the integrity of your faith and might make you prey to the temptations of the devil. If you want to remain Catholics," the bishops said, "you must follow the instructions of your pastors always and in everything so that matters should happen in order and acceptably."

Order and discipline are the chief concern of Cardinal Lekai also. He observed to us that during the visit to Poland by John-Paul II "the absence of confusion and the discipline of the masses" made the most favorable impression on him. The cardinal is similarly guarded in the question of the so-called "basic communes": "Such groups do not really exist here; our Christian people do not like extremes. We look with suspicion on these innovations coming from the west."

Despite the unparalleled submission of the officially recognized churches the state has not given up its struggle with religion. At the ideological level the Marxist-atheist ideological attack is strengthening. The anti-religious Marxist-Leninist world view reaches a number estimated at about 2 million, in the form of study courses, education, further training, etc., including all of the youth participating in public education, beginning with elementary school (where Marxism is a compulsory subject) all the way to the universities and party schools.

Although in principle the law forbids it the believers are harassed at every level. Although religious instruction is theoretically optional in the state schools it is most rarely ensured in practice. (There are six boys and two girls gymnasia in church hands in Hungary; those teaching here are priests and nuns--Benedictines, Piarists, Franciscans and the order of Our Lady in Kalocsa--of authorized teaching orders.) The authorities even look ill on the church catechism and it frequently happens that their teachers warn the students: If you continue to go to religious study you may lose your scholarship or will not receive a passport. The intellectual elite, even if they are believers, are in a more privileged position; but the common mortal has no interest in avowing his faith openly if he wants to live in peace and tranquility. Many believers severely condemn the bowing down to authority of the Catholic hierarchy and feel that the Church should make more courageous use of the theoretically guaranteed liberties; Pope John-Paul II is of the same opinion and he can cite the considerably more militant traditions of the Polish hierarchy. On the occasion of the Pope's visit to Poland Cardinal Wyszynski virtually "told off" Cardinal Lekai in this regard; but even Pope John-Paul II himself felt it one of his first duties on the day after his election to remind in a letter the Hungarian Bench of Bishops of the role played by the Hungarian Catholic Church in the history of the country.

The Christian-Marxist Dialog

In the final analysis opinions are divided in both camps in regard to the dialog of Christians and Marxists. Some feel that the dialog should be limited to practical questions, in the interest of better understanding. This is the position of Cardinal Lekai too: "From the world view viewpoint the populace of our country is not uniform but life proves everyday that harmony can be realized in the common interest of the homeland if in conducting affairs we attend not to what divides us but rather to what binds us together. On one point, of course, we share the opinion of our Marxist compatriots, there is no room for bargaining in regard to the ultimate questions of various ideologies. But this cannot mean rigidity or immobility. Those who sincerely follow the path of dialog will approach one another without giving up their ideological principles, they will meet in a solidarity which serves the salvation of the country."

Cardinal Lekai is paying his dues to the *modus vivendi* dictated by the power relationships; the Marxist philosopher Gyorgy Lukacs recommended a tactical alliance. He wrote the following in an article which was published in the journal *VILAGOSSAG* before his death: "Marxism and religion oppose one another at every point in their world view. In my opinion there is no theoretical foundation for philosophical attempts undertaking mediation. Every transcendental philosophy is alien to Marxism. The attempt of Teilhard de Chardin to reconcile the two world views failed. One simply cannot imagine a path which would be a synthesis between Saint Thomas Aquinas and Karl Marx."

It is true that Lukacs went this far: "A common front of believers and non-believers is, of course, possible. I am ready for a dialog even today, although I would caution against overestimating its significance. If we are to meet with a leftist Catholic without preparation and prior care there cannot be much profit from it. Dialog can be effective at the practical level, but not at the theoretical level."

Others, however, judge more favorably the chances of a philosophical and theoretical dialog. Dr. Karoly Toth, for example, feels that the Christians and Marxists could learn much from one another even in the ideological area and it is his conviction that "if religion, despite the predictions of Marx, has not disappeared in the socialist countries then part of the explanation is that the churches, thanks to Marxism, were capable of development."

Janos Pilinszky, a Catholic poet and one of the most popular poets of the country, told us that in the question of fraternity, so important to his heart, he feels himself close to the Marxists. "I believe in the mutual fertilizing power of ideals. In the last century Dostoyevski wrote most credibly about the individual in Eastern Europe; in our century Simone Weil wrote most credibly about the man of the masses in Western Europe."

Andras Szennay, abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Pannonhalom, also considers the ideological dialog to be essential: "From the viewpoint of

the development and fulfillment of the human spirit a dialog about philosophical and ideological questions is extraordinarily important. From this viewpoint the parties to the dialog will stick truly and seriously to the result of their train of thought, to the lessons which can be drawn from the two pictures of the world. And let me add that the Christian theologian respects his atheist debating partner no differently than the Marxist philosopher his Christian colleague. In the course of the dialog both want to be enriched without turning full force on the faith of the other."

Unfortunately this peaceful, well-meaning conception of dialog does not at all coincide with Hungarian reality. And until better times follow the church would be deluding itself if it sold out cheaply. The church has a serious role still, which was formulated as follows by a Reformed Church pastor: "The church is not a political force but it has the task of being a prophetic force in any system. Today among us, unfortunately, it is just this critical voice which is most lacking. In a word, the church should serve; but it should not be a servant!"

FOOTNOTES

1. The study titled "Human Rights in Hungary" by the Hungarian author using the pseudonym Marc Rakovski was published in our supplement, IRODALMI UJSAG, July-August 1978.
2. As in several other questions in regard to Transylvania also our journal has repeatedly expressed the position that the problem is more complex than it is described here. Still, we consider it extraordinarily interesting how an outsider--in this case a representative of a large French newspaper--views the exploitation of the serious situation of the Hungarians in Transylvania by the domestic political leadership in order to distract attention from internal problems while the real goal--as the French journalist also notes--is to maintain the status quo, that is to preserve their power, and not to help the Hungarians in Romania.
3. The article by Zsolt Krokovay was published in Hungarian in Issue No 2 of the Paris MAGYAR FUZETEK, in December 1978.
4. Alain Woodrow's article appeared immediately before the publication of the Open Letters of the Hungarian movement protesting against the Prague sentences. The movement, which collected 252 signatures, shows that the solidarity with Charta 77 has grown a good bit beyond the circle of the students of Gyorgy Lukacs. (See the special edition of IRODALMI UJSAG, 4 November 1979.

Church Statistics

In Hungary only the government and party organizations are authorized to compile and publish statistical data pertaining to the country as a whole. Thus the following data, published between 1973 and 1976, should be treated with some caution.

Catholics-- They number 5,250,000 (6,500,000 according to the bishops, not counting about 500,000 Greek Catholic believers) divided among three archbishoprics and eight bishoprics. In 1973 they recorded 4,014 priests. The training of priests is provided by four seminaries (including one Greek Catholic) and the Budapest Theological Academy, the university diploma of which is recognized even by Rome.

The Actio Catholica is, among other things, the publisher of the Catholic press. Its publications are UJ EMBER (weekly, four pages, 90,000 copies)*, VIGILIA (of literary orientation and interest, monthly, 14,000 copies) and TEOLOGIA (a theoretical journal appearing quarterly in 4,000 copies).

Protestants-- The Reformed Church (Calvinist), about 2 million believers; the Evangelical Church (Lutheran), about 500,000 believers; the Council of Free Churches, about 37,000 believers in 10 denominations (Adventists; Baptists, the most populous with 18,000 members; Assembly of God; Pentecostals; the Church of God; Christian Brothers; Methodists; Old Christians; Free Christians; and Nazarenes).

The Reformed Church is divided into four districts (dioceses) with a bishop at the head of each. Services are provided by 2,000 pastors in 1,567 congregations (parishes). Two theological academies provide replacements; 20 percent of the students are female.

About 100 women are awaiting ordination. The Reformists also have a weekly, a monthly information bulletin and a theological journal.

The Evangelical Church is guided by the senior of the two bishops with the help of an elected lay aide. There are about 400 pastors in 320 congregations in 500 churches. The Evangelical theological academy has 40-50 students. The publications of the church are a weekly appearing in 10,000 copies and a bulletin for pastors in 700 copies.

Orthodox-- Their number is estimated at 40,000. Since 1949 their scattered communities have been under the Patriarch of Moscow. Their liturgical language is Hungarian.

Jews-- Prior to World War II there were 825,000 Jews in Hungary; 600,000 of them died in German execution camps. Their present number is 80,000 to 100,000. There are 130 synagogues in the country with 26 rabbis. The only rabbi training school in Central and Eastern Europe can be found in Budapest, where there are six teachers for 8-10 students. There is also a Jewish gymnasium. The publication of the community is the bimonthly UJ ELET.

* Note: The 90,000 copies of UJ LEMER are completely sold out. The proceeds are so significant as to cover the budgets of several Catholic organizations (Actio Catholica, the bishops' historical monument preservation office, etc.). At present subscribers receive 11,000 copies by mail; the rest are sold in the churches. The other day the Ministry of Postal Affairs decided that from now on all copies must be mailed and the present 7 percent profit share is being raised to 31 percent. So far the decision is a "threat" and there has not yet been practical implementation.

8984

C801 2500

CONTINUOUS ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL ANALYSIS CALLED FOR

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 12, 13 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Jan Szczepanski]

[Text] The interdependence between the policy and the socioeconomic development in a planned society is obvious. Economic, social, educational and any other policy, which endeavors to implement established development plans, ought to ensure that they proceed from a thorough knowledge of the realities, and that every decision of that policy--in order to achieve its intended purpose--should take advantage of the current analysis of social realities.

Such reasoning, to be sure, leads to the acknowledgement of the importance of analyses of the facts of social realities. Therefore, to achieve the well-defined goals, every government and party, planning and administrative institution, which directs or controls some branch of the economy, society, or culture, etc., and shapes a policy or implements a planned action, should have at its disposal the current estimates of events, processes, and changes in the system of forces and of the operation of economic, social and political factors. The role of such undertakings becomes especially important at times when difficulties arise and one must look for the remedial measures and anticipate changes and the emergence of the new factors and situations and disappearance of the old ones.

The government, the Planning Commission, Central Office of Statistics, and other political and economic institutions should constantly work out such analyses, however they are also being prepared at other levels and by other people. From the prime minister to the ordinary working man, every worker should do this in his own field of activity if he is to work efficiently. So also every housewife who endeavors to utilize in the best possible manner the available means must also, in her own capacity, estimate the situation in which she lives. Analyses of the state of the society are also being made by persons that feel they are qualified to make them and are concerned about some aspect of public affairs. To be sure, there are also surveys, by experts, made not for the authorities but against them, but in the present considerations I have in mind only those which are being submitted to authorities, suggesting that they attempt some other solutions.

The analyses dealing with the affairs of state, economy or with the important sectors of social realities are of a special significance not only for the conduct of an efficient policy but also for the shaping of public opinion. They may, therefore, be used for various purposes. The matter of a subject intended for a small political group that has to give its attention to the existing situation and possibilities of its improvement, which are to be taken into consideration in a policy in the means and effects account, has quite a different purpose from the analysis of the same matter which is being made generally known and may cause completely different impression and effects. Suffice it to read any memoirs of outstanding politicians, for example, of Churchill or de Gaulle, to become convinced that there were often great differences between the estimates worked out for them by the experts and what at the same time was made public, and not only in the time of war. In the government of the state there occur various emergencies and matters which may not always be the subject of the public appraisal. Therefore, a comparison of the archives made public after many years with what appeared in the press in the same period can be very instructive.

But this state of things may generate a practice of the use of various analyses for purposes different from those for which they were intended. It happens sometimes that matters not intended for publication are reproduced, distributed and even printed without the knowledge and consent of the author and given interpretation inconsistent with his intentions. Under these conditions they become a quite different means of political activity from that intended by the author. Therefore, I am of the opinion that a good custom requires that the authors be left to decide as to the publication of analyses prepared by them and not to publish it without their knowledge and consent.

For there are analyses which should remain a matter for discussion in the circles for which they were intended, and analyses that provide information and comments intended for the guidance of all the citizens concerning the political life of the country. An active and constructive participation in political activities requires the knowledge of the situation of public affairs, of the processes that take place, and the information about significant elements of economic and political processes.

The Polish society has a great need for information about the real state of society and the economy. Activated by discussions preceding the congress and open debates during it, public opinion and the people of good will looking for means to decrease difficulties in the economy and public life are taking great interest in analyses being prepared in various party, government, scientific and private circles. Since we have not as yet had a generally accepted practice of disseminating these analyses (although there has been notable progress in this field, and publicness of political life if not an abstract idea) which could be and should even be popularized. Therefore almost every analysis that gets out through private channels has a state or character of a political sensation instead of being received as what it actually is: an attempt made by the people who feel that they

have something to say and who wish to call attention of the authorities and sometimes also of public opinion and society to certain facts and situations with which both the authorities and society will have to cope. Such appraisals by the very nature of things have to be realistic, sometimes critical and sometimes even brutal.

I consider that in the present situation of looking for a way out of difficulties, putting in order the management of the economy, and ways to remove the "corset that hampers the expansion of productive forces," the corset that is a foreign body in the socialism, we must make an appeal to the common sense of the society, to make use of the knowledge and wisdom of all citizens, especially those who wish to help find the way out of the difficulties. In formalized institutions a phenomenon is always formed which sociologists label "professional thinking" or the "conviction of one's own indispensability," resulting from the experience and know-how. Now this know-how and experience can become a rut and inability to see reality. In a period of changes it is always necessary to endeavor to have "a new look at the things."

What I am calling here "a new look" must not be necessarily something radically new. Most often the point is to spell out what everyone knows and feels and to utilize the common knowledge of phenomena and processes that should be analyzed anew and to eliminate from them the sources of evil. We know, for example, one phenomenon: For many years we have seen hundreds of railroad cars on television being damaged daily during unloading. Why during all these years has nothing been done to eliminate this phenomenon? If the causes are technical, then one should have long ago set up a team of engineers and technicians and let them devise methods of unloading railroad cars without damaging them. And if this phenomenon is caused by negligence or lack of supervision, one should have long ago established the principle of responsibility and make the guilty of carelessness pay for the damage done. If this results from the lack of qualifications, one should train those who are not qualified. And if damages are being caused by mischievousness or stupidity of the unloaders, they should be transferred to some other work where they will not destroy national property. If there is something wrong with economic mechanisms, one should have changed them long ago. Meanwhile it has been years that this condition has continued to exist and cause enormous harm. This reminds me of the Galczynski's "Green Goose," in which a choir of Poles, stand around a smoky stove, chanting mournfully: "And we stand here endlessly--and the stove is smoking, smoking, smoking." Is there in Poland someone that would give a "new look" at the question of destruction of railroad cars during their unloading?

The current analyses, therefore, carried out at different levels and differing in scope, should become a normal element of the everyday economic and political life and be used as an ordinary and obvious procedure, without creating a climate of sensation and unusualness around them. No one who assumes a managerial post is supposed to be in possession of an exclusive revelation. Rather he is granted a social mandate to properly use the wisdom of all those in the given field. The proven practice of using efficient experience should not be restricted to the technical matters alone.

'POLITYKA' WRITER SAID TO QUESTION GRUDZIADZ TRIAL

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 21 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Text] Already in March, during the course of the court proceedings, DZIENNIK wrote about the political foundations of the specially prepared trial of Edmund Zadrozynski, the well-known KOR activist from Grudziadz. Now we have yet another confirmation of the fraudulence of the trial; this confirmation comes from an observer, associated with the party weekly POLITYKA, who was at the trial.

Let us recall here only that Zadrozynski was constantly harassed for his Opposition activity and for his pronouncements in defense of the inhabitants of the city. He was also one of the organizers of the Committee of Free Trade Unions and a member of the editorial board of the independent ROBOTNIK. In the aforementioned trial he was sentenced to spend 3 years in prison and to pay a 70,000 zloty fine. Several petty thieves were purposely introduced into the case. The POLITYKA editor, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, delegated Wanda Falkowska to be his representative at this notorious trial. She is well known for her many reports from the more important criminal trials.

Falkowska transmitted to Rakowski, in writing, her notes on the Zadrozynski trial. A copy of them went beyond the circle of the editorial board and duplicates are circulating rather widely in Warsaw. At the beginning of her remarks, Falkowska emphasizes that she had become convinced in Grudziadz that the trial had evoked not only the interest of the inhabitants of the city, but also their serious doubts. Both the highly valued social activity of Zadrozynski and the crude fakery of the accusations of the prosecutor's office and of the witnesses' testimony against Zadrozynski, which was given only after they had spent a fairly long time in prison, influenced this.

Falkowska calls attention to the behavior of Zadrozynski's two sons, who were in the dock together with their father. During the course of the trial, it came out that a couple of months after the arrest of his father, Miroslaw Zadrozynski submitted to the investigating authorities a 30-plus page declaration in which he testified against his father. He maintained that his

father terrorized him and forced him to carry out robberies and to give him the amounts which he had robbed.

Talkowska subjects to doubts the credibility of these declarations, submitted during the investigation, and points out the contradictions contained in them. One cannot, for example, believe that the father would not permit the 20-year-old Miroslaw to go to a movie unless he paid several hundred or even a thousand zlotys for his permission. As is known, at the beginning of the court case, Miroslaw retracted the accusations against his father, stating that he had been forced to make them, and turned to the court with a request that it assign him a defense attorney. Despite binding procedural customs, the presiding officer for the trial, Judge Galuszkowa, rejected this request in accordance with the demand of the prosecutor.

Two days later, as Falkowska notes, Miroslaw Zadrozynski submitted to the court a new 12-page declaration, written in his prison cell, in which he retracted his previous testimony and again accused his father. The presiding judge, despite binding legal provisions, did not question Miroslaw, but contented herself with reading his declaration.

The second son, Andrzej, categorically denied that his father had encouraged him or his brother to steal and had received money from them. At the same time, he stated that during the investigation he had been compelled to testify against his father. After one of the interrogations at which this was done—a Security Service officer, Lewandowski, took part in it—Andrzej attempted to commit suicide. Falkowska noted the testimony before the court of Andrzej Zadrozynski, who stated that during the investigation he had been bound with straps and had been questioned about the social activity of his father. When he did not reply to these questions, the straps were painfully tightened, squeezing his chest, legs and hands.

Wenda Falkowska states that the act of accusation was clearly inflated and that a series of crimes in which none of the Zadrozynski family had taken part were included in it. (The prosecutor undoubtedly wanted to create around Zadrozynski a criminal atmosphere.) The act of accusation also includes "doubtfully sounding charges." Attention is also called forth by the fact that all those accusing Edmund Zadrozynski did so only after a rather long period in prison and under investigation. Falkowska writes: "This reminds one of the Japanese saying that it is a caged parrot which is most talkative."

The POLITYKA representative also notes her reservations about the methods used in investigating Zdzislaw Wojanowski, to whom methods of physical assistance were applied. The flagrant tendentiousness of the investigating authorities is indicated by the fact that, in the act of accusation, Edmund Zadrozynski was described as a bad worker. Falkowska went to the Pomeranian Foundry and Enamel Plant (Pomorska Odlewnia i Emaliernia), where Zadrozynski worked. She saw the laudatory opinion about him signed by the director of the plant.

From the moment when Zadrozynski was arrested in July 1979, there was no doubt that the Security Service, acting jointly with the prosecutor's office, intended by any and all means to disgrace a well known opposition activist by means of accusations of ordinary crime. What was sought was to discredit the moral virtues of representatives of the democratic opposition. For this purpose a guilty verdict was needed, and Judge Galuszkowa zealously gave it in order to fulfill the instructions of her superiors: police and party officials.

CSO: 2600

LETTER CALLS FOR MORE TOLERATION OF NONCONFORMIST ANALYSIS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 16, 19 Apr 80 p 14

[Letter to POLITYKA by Piotr Buczkowski, director of the Philosophy Department of the Pomorze Medical Academy]

[Text] Professor Jan Szczepanski's article (POLITYKA, No 12) deals with problems which have fermented in my own mind for a rather long period of time, and I do not think that I would be exaggerating if I were to state that they are salt in the eye of the majority of scholars, especially those whom we have become accustomed to call humanists. The first problem is linked with what I think is the objective need to conduct analyses of the functioning of a socialist society. The problem is perceived by the sociopolitical authorities of our country and the best expression of this is attempts to create commissions of experts who, with their knowledge and theoretical preparation, would do service by analyzing current and long-term development trends and would facilitate the undertaking of optimum decisions.

Expertises of this type have a limited reach when, as Jan Szczepanski states, "in the course of directing the country, various needs and matters come up which cannot always be the object of public assessment." Now I have to confess that, although I could name several problems of a "secret" character (e.g., matters related to defense, etc.), it seems to me that a majority of the remaining problems (economic and political ones, which is what I imagine the author of the article especially had in mind) not only can, but should, be revealed to public opinion. Many arguments for this could be mentioned. At least two are really essential. First, making analyses of this kind available to a wider group makes it possible to have a substantive and also instructive discussion between competent people, that is, between professionals who occupy themselves with scientific studies. It is obvious, at least to me, that an expert or even a group of experts, no matter how proficient in their area of specialization they might be, is not in a position to notice all aspects of interesting issues. Discussions embracing within their scope the largest possible group of learned men are

not only welcome, but downright necessary in order to insure that reality comes to be better known and, by the same token, that the development of optimum "instruments" for its transformation is possible.

The second argument is linked with the "gray citizen." Society must understand how it functions and in what types of dependences its members are entangled, and this requirement is becoming a need precisely in a socialist society in which, as Jan Szczepanski writes, "We must have recourse to the reserves of common sense of society and make use of the knowledge and wisdom of all citizens, especially those who want to contribute to a solution of our difficulties." What is at stake is that this "common sense" also be co-created by people who have a predisposition to see better and deeper. In the absence of accurate and available scientific analyses, the common sense views of the gray citizen can depart significantly from reality and, what is more, be regarded as its scientific explanation (because the citizen will know no other!).

I am in full solidarity with Professor Szczepanski's position that "We have still not created a universally accepted practice of disseminating these analyses (those carried out by specialists--P.B.)..., thus almost every analysis which reaches us by private channels has the smell or character of a political sensation, instead of being accepted as that which is really is: an attempt undertaken by people who feel that they have something to say and who want to turn the attention of both the authorities and sometimes also that of public opinion to certain matters." And here appears another problem associated with the attitudes of the scholars themselves, who either decide not to make available the results of their researches, (Here we exclude those who are apologists for every cause and do not take up a problem or look at it through very rose-colored glasses.) or decide to do so, foreseeing the possible.

This is because a scholar is not always assessed according to the intentions which guide him, but according to the practical consequences which can be taken from his work or according to the disagreement of certain of his contents with the official interpretation of doctrine. Here in turn we touch on a problem mentioned by Jan Szczepanski. Thus, as he writes, "It sometimes happens that a thing not intended for publication is copied, distributed, and sometimes even printed without the knowledge and agreement of the author and that it is given interpretations not in agreement with the intentions of the author." Agreeing with the author that "good manners requires that the decision about printing the analyses written by an author be left to him and that they not be publicized by being printed without his knowledge and agreement," I would like to place the problem itself in a somewhat different light. Why do such situations come about? If the text was not designated by the author solely to clarify certain problems to himself, but also served the cause of pointing them out to a wider audience and of attempting to solve them, and made use of official publishing outlets for this purpose, then the author would at all times be able to give the lie to theses imputed falsely to him, to clarify interpretations not in agreement

with his intentions, or also, thanks to acquaintance with alternative formulations stimulated by his conception, to note an error in his own reasoning. This, however, would only be possible if there were acceptance for the practice of assessing theoretical propositions not from the point of view of their possible agreement with universally accepted views in a given area, but from the point of view of their cognitive values. (To raise a problem and to make it possible for other scholars to notice it is, I believe, in itself such a value.) An additional result would be also the gaining of possibilities for more effective practical action. What is at stake is that "current analyses, conducted at various levels and with different scopes of generality, be made a normal element of everyday economic and political life." What is also at stake is the elimination of attitudes of avoiding responsibility and of writing for the drawer and, what is more, the elimination of those mechanisms of social functioning which incline people toward such attitudes.

CS0: 2600

ENVOYS ADDRESS UN-ECE CONFERENCE ON TECHNOLOGY

AU212026 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 21 Apr 80 AU

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 21 Apr--During the debates on cooperation in science and technology within the U.N./ECE session in Geneva, Romanian representative Alexandru Niculescu pointed to the necessity of undertaking concrete actions which should cope with the member countries' major concerns today, starting from the proposals contained in the declaration of the regional session of the U.N./ECE in Bucharest in 1978 and from the programme of action adopted at the last year's United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development in Vienna. He proposed measures for the improvement of the conditions of access of all states, of the developing countries in particular, to the achievements of modern science and technology. Such like measures for the narrowing down of the technical-scientific and technological centres at regional and sub-regional level could be the subject of a special meeting which would be convened under the U.N./ECE aegis--he said.

In connection with energy questions, Romanian representative Leon Toader presented a series of concrete measures and proposals for the development of collaboration and cooperation in achieving the transfer of technology, exchanges of information, interchanges of experts and specialized cadres, which is of special concern to the developing countries. Socialist Romania--he said--declares for the amplification of regional collaboration in this field, attaching great importance to the interconnection of energy systems in the Balkans, project underway which offers considerable economic advantages to all the countries in the region and contributes to the consolidation of the relations of good neighbourliness and peaceful collaboration among the Balkan countries.

Romania is for the convening of a European conference on energy which should secure a multilateral and thorough approach of aspects concerning European collaboration in a domain of major importance for our very development and the future of our civilization.

CSO: 2020

REPORT ON SESSIONS CELEBRATING 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF ARMED FORCES DAY

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 5, Sep-Oct 79 pp 172-179

[Article by Ion Coman, Stefan Pascu, Ion Popescu-Futuri, Gheorghe Gomoiu, Stefan Stefanescu, Marin Nicolescu, Constantin Olteanu, Ion Hortopan, Ilie Ceausescu, Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga, Gheorghe Gainuse and Mihnea Gheorghiu: "Scientific Session Dedicated to the 35th Anniversary of the Romanian Socialist Republic's Armed Forces Day"]

[Text] On 22 October 1979, a scientific session was held dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the "Romanian Socialist Republic's Armed Forces Day." This session was organized by the Ministry of National Defense and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. Participating were members of the Management Council of the Ministry of National Defense, members of the other ministries and central institutes, personalities from political and scientific life, generals and officers, veterans of the anti-fascist war, scientists and researchers in the field of history.

Also present were military attaches, other members of the diplomatic corps, as well as foreign press correspondents accredited in Bucharest.

The "Opening Speech" was given by General-Colonel Ion Coman, the Minister of National Defense. Pointing out that the 35th anniversary of "Romanian Armed Forces Day" was taking place under the auspices generated by the creative clan of the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, a congress which will add a memorable page to the history of the nation, the Minister of National Defense brought out the idea that "the draft documents of the Congress, which were publicly discussed in a democratic manner, bear an inestimable stamp: that of the personality who defines the unparalleled era through which our country is passing, that of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an exceptional leader who is taking the nation toward the peaks of socialist civilization, a fearless fighter for the cause of dignity, independence and national sovereignty, a political militant of international renown who is dedicated without reserve to serving the goals of achieving a better and more just world on our planet."

The "Opening Speech" noted that the day celebrated by the scientific session was one of the links in this anniversary year. It is the direct continuation of the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. As we know, this crucial moment in the history of the Romanian people also had a significant military impact. It represented a turning point also in the development of the Romanian armed forces, which then -- unanimously and without defections -- turned their weapons against the Nazi Wehrmacht and set out on a road which converged with the new road blazed by the communist party of Romanian society.

Evoking the past as a means of more deeply evaluating the dimensions of the present and surveying the horizons of the future, General-Colonel Ion Coman pointed out: "In the socialist state of today, the armed forces are a creation of the Romanian Communist Party, a party which at all times reflects in its being the perennial permanent features of the Romanian military phenomenon, particularly the secular dedication to the cause of freedom and the independence and sovereignty of the nation.

Fully linked to the driving forces and the impulses of socialist society, reflecting within them the social-political homogeneity of their cadres and soldiers, and based on the leading role of the Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian armed forces have entered into a new stage in their evolution with the establishment of a new military doctrine approved by the secretary general of the party, the president of the republic, the supreme commander of the armed forces, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a doctrine whose essential postulate is that the defense of the nation is the cause and the task of all the people."

In specifying the goal of Romanian military policy, which is pre-eminently non-aggressive, and the fundamental concept of ensuring the external security of the nation by means of "a full, armed ripost of maximum intensity by the people, realized on the perimeters of the national territory, as the fundamental modality for counterattacking any aggression," it was pointed out that "on this basis, the national defense system was set up, a system within which, in virtue of multiple determinants, the armed forces hold the role of the principal element of force and strategic and tactical activity. In accordance with the absolute right of its own constitutional authority to guide and command the armed forces of the nation, and also the other component forces of national defense, the Romanian state also understands the military obligations assumed by international bilateral or multilateral treaties, such as the Warsaw Pact, to which it subscribes on the basis of the provisions that what is intended is defense against an aggression in Europe and the safeguarding of the independence and the sovereignty of the participating nations."

The report "The Romanian Armed Forces -- Always Together with the People in the Struggle for Liberty, Independence and National Unity and for the Development of Romanian Society" by Academician Stefan Pascu, chief of

the History Section of the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic, pointed out that the fundamental characteristics of the Romanian people included the ideals of liberty and social and national justice -- which were permanent features of the past of our people and which had their origin with the people and were developed as they developed -- as well as, supplementing and supporting these ideals, the ideals of political independence and state and spiritual unity. "In order to honor its destiny and to respect its mission, the Romanian people -- a watchguard in this part of the world in "the path of evil-doers" -- was conscious of the importance of creating some absolutely necessary institutions. Among these, under such circumstances the state organization occupied first place."

"Quiet and peaceful people in times of quiet and peace," said the speaker, "these people are transformed, when the country is in danger, when abuses can no longer be tolerated, into brave defenders of their nation and country, into bold fighters for justice and law, for human life and liberty." During the years of World War I, for example, "The Romanian army faced death for fulfillment of the great ideal: unification of all comrades within the same political system. This was the most just of the just wars because rights were what were sought. The brave soldiers who crossed over into the Carpathians were greeted with tears of joy and welcoming flowers by those who had waited for them so long with the never-failing hope, with the yearning of people who had "shared common ancestors and parents." And then, once again in the month of August, 28 years later, "the Romanian armed forces once again honorably fulfilled their patriotic obligations. Filled with the same pure sentiments and love of country, the Romanian armed forces 35 years later, just as before, were as always together with the people because they were the emanation of the people and indestructibly identified with the interests of the people."

"The granite-like cohesion of the armed forces," emphasized Academician Stefan Pascu in the final report, "the unshaken unity between the armed forces and the people, the unity of all the Romanian nation with the party, its secretary general, the president of the nation, is overwhelmingly demonstrated by the supreme commandant of the armed forces, who has convincingly stressed the quintessence of the Romanian armed forces, shoulder to shoulder with the people, made up of the sons of workers, peasants and intellectuals, without regard to nationality, closely united through their devotion to the party and the people and through their decision to be worthy fighters in the creation of a socialist Romania. A heroic and worthy armed forces of an entire heroic and worthy nation!"

In a report entitled "The Concept Promoted by the RCP During the Years of Illegal Status in Respect to the Role of the Romanian Armed Forces in the Struggle for Preservation of Independence and Territorial Integrity and for Liberation of Romania from Fascist Domination," Ion Popescu-Puturi, the director of the Institute for Historical and Social-Political Studies under the Central Committee of the RCP, brought out the fact that "An especially important component of the strategy and tactics of the RCP that ensured the RCP the capacity to manage the great revolutionary process

that began in our country in August 1944 was its concept in respect to the relationship between the armed forces and the people, in respect to the role of the armed forces in the struggle for preservation of the nation's independence and territorial integrity, for liberation of the nation from Hitlerist domination. This concept was not just the result of an evaluation of a time of internal and international crisis. It was the matured fruit both of the understanding of the permanence of such a role for the military in our national history and of the prolonged endeavors and work of our workers' movement."

The report pointed out that the unification of the workers' movement on the national level and the transformation of the Socialist Party into the Romanian Communist Party in the Congress of May 1921 "had also established a basis for raising military thinking, the workers' movement and revolutionary activities on the part of communists in the armed forces to a higher level. The elaboration of the RCP's concept concerning the role and functions of the armed forces was not linear in nor lacking in confusion; however, the essential thing was the fact that it moved closer and closer to the national and international realities which determined this role and these functions. These realities were based first of all on the fact that realization of the unitary Romanian national state in 1918 meant that the principal coordinate of Romania's policy in the inter-war period had to be consolidation of the unitary statehood of the Romanians, the maintenance of the territorial status-quo, and the organization of defense against a possible aggression on the part of the revisionist and then fascist states, which were preparing for a new war." The dominant feature in the position of the RCP in respect to military problems, especially as the danger of expansionism by the Nazis and their allies became more evident, "action aimed at strengthening the capacity of the armed forces to counteract this expansion, to defend the territorial integrity of the nation and its sovereignty and independence, and, at the same time, to educate the sons of the workers and peasants in the armed forces in the spirit of protecting the major interests of the broad masses of people and to enlist the military personnel in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the peasantry and the progressive forces of the nation for progress and a better life. Gradually, as the struggle against the fascist danger and foreign threats intensified, the RCP abandoned those elements of its policy in respect to the armed forces which had resulted from the simplistic concept of a "class struggle against a class," which had long been promoted by the Comintern, and changed over first and foremost to a position which proceeded from the consideration that in order to save Romania it was critically necessary to strengthen the national armed forces and to organize the defense of the nation." At the same time, the RCP repeatedly pointed out that "raising the capacity of the armed forces to fight, raising its capacity to fulfill its mission of defending the nation, was closely connected with the requirement for democratization of the armed forces and strengthening of the armed forces, and in this way strengthening its moral-political power at a time when it would have to launch a suitable ripost against the states which planned to revise the peace treaties.

We should note the continuity of this position in the much more complex circumstances which later developed in working out the RCP's concept in respect to the role of the armed forces in overthrowing the Antonescu dictatorship and liberating the country from the domination of Hitlerist imperialism, as well as the substantial enrichment of this position. The overall concept of the RCP in respect to the role of the armed forces resulted from and was made an integral part of the general strategic and tactical policies adopted in the struggle to achieve objectives of vital national interest.

"In the struggle to achieve these objectives, objectives which were parallel to the interests and feelings of all the nation's sons, including those wearing military uniforms," said Ion Popescu-Puturi, "the RCP consistently and firmly promoted the establishment of a broad national coalition, using as the only criterion for collaboration with any force the criterion of the attitude they held toward the major objective -- the anti-Hitlerist struggle."

The principal and decisive element for the evolution of events and for the concept of the Romanian communists was "promotion of action in the armed forces which was not aimed at splitting the armed forces up on class criteria, but rather rallying the armed forces in the general national anti-Hitlerist struggle in its capacity as an organization which had the role of defending the nation's independence and sovereignty. In this respect, through its documents and in the practical actions undertaken, the RCP addressed all categories of military, from soldiers and non-commissioned officers to officers and generals, and supported all actions of opposition in relation to continuation of involvement in the Hitlerist war manifested at the supreme command level. During the years 1941-1944, this concept and position of the communist party caused the emphasis to fall more on calls not for more or less isolated acts of resistance such as the defection of units with their weapons or the formation of or affiliation with partisan groups, but rather on calls for organized and systematic organization for having the entire armed forces turn their weapons around within the framework of the general actions for rallying forces and preparing for the insurrection in August 1944."

Successfully pushing for the creation of a broad political coalition, ranging from the workers' parties reunited in the United Workers' Front to the monarchy, the RCP oriented itself decisively toward concrete collaboration with the armed forces, with the patriotic higher officers and generals, in practical preparation for the historic actions of August 1944 which assured "not only a reversion of arms by the entire Romanian armed forces, but also conferred on this complex process an organized and centralized character, accompanied by an immediate and planned changeover to a struggle against the Hitlerist units, to provision of protection for the borders, and to preparations for an offensive for liberation of the north-western territory of the nation from Horthyist Nazi occupation" and, in continuing, to the struggle for definitive defeat of fascism in Europe.

In a report entitled "The Armed Forces of the Romanian Socialist Republic -- An Outstanding Creation of the Romanian Communist Party, A Main Component of the National Defense System," General-Lieutenant Gheorghe Gomoiu, Deputy Minister of National Defense and secretary of the Higher Policy Council of the Armed Forces, emphasized the following: "Made up of the sons of workers, peasants and intellectuals, without regard to nationality, devoted without limitation to the nation, the working people and the party, constantly ready to do its duty in faithfully serving the interests of our socialist nation, the armed forces of the Romanian Socialist Republic are the result of a complex process masterfully managed by the communist party within the framework of the historic task of building a new social system on the soil of Romania."

In building a new-type armed forces, the party has taken into consideration the progressive traditions of the Romanian armed forces, the fact that the armed forces, in answer to the call of the party, participated directly in the insurrection of August 1944, the special features of their social and spiritual composition, and, in particular, the profound consequences of their participation, together with the working masses, in accomplishing the objectives of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist, social and national liberation revolution.

The author said that "The realism, clairvoyance and wisdom of the Romanian Communist Party's concept in respect to creation of a new military organization by means of a gradual revolutionary transformation of the old armed forces ensured in the very first stage of the revolution that a climate of democratic life was installed among the ranks of the soldiers. The sustained activity of the party to provide ideological clarification for military personnel and to bring them closer to the ideals of the struggle for social and national justice resulted in substantial changes in the moral-political physiognomy of the armed forces, changes which, however, were produced in the general democratic stage of the revolution. The creation of the armed forces found fulfillment in the socialist stage of the revolution, as an inseparable part of socialist construction, and, at the same time, as a vital necessity on which the capacity to defend the new system against any attempts to restore the old order by force or against any possible aggression depended.

In the golden honor roll of our people's armed forces, a place of honor is given to the period in which comrade Nicolae Ceausescu worked directly among the ranks of the armed forces. During the years when, at the order of the higher leadership of the party, he held the position of deputy minister and chief of the Higher Political Directorate of the armed forces and then when he was first deputy to the minister of the armed forces, we were deeply aware of the clear-sightedness, perseverance, party-minded firmness, and innovative spirit with which he worked for a revolutionary transformation of the armed forces, for endowing the armed forces with those characteristics which a people's armed forces should have when totally serving the cause of the party, the nation, and socialism."

Also well known and valued by all our people and by all the soldiers of the nation is the laborious activity carried on by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the head of the party and the state for continued strengthening of the nation's defensive capacities and his decisive role in developing the themes which are the basis for the nation's defense concepts, in initiating and developing contemporary Romanian military doctrine, in establishing the functions of the armed forces in the stage of building a multilaterally developed socialist society, in providing the armed forces with modern technical combat equipment, and in continuously improving the instruction and training process for the troops.

The direct contacts and periodic meetings of the secretary general of the party with the basic cadres of the armed forces, with the mass of the soldiers, his direct participation in the important actions and meetings which took place in the armed forces, had a decisive role in strengthening the combat capacity of the armed forces and in achieving a new, higher quality in combat and political readiness of the units and large units. His speeches given on these occasions are models of revolutionary analysis of the stage achieved by the armed forces in their evolution, on the coordinates established by the party, and of outlining against a scientific background -- in relation to the existing possibilities and the exigencies of the contemporary armed forces' struggle -- the major objectives and the principal directions of effort which would ensure fulfillment of the mission entrusted to the military.

On the basis of the party's concept, in accordance with which the defense of the nation and of the revolutionary achievements of socialism is the task of all the people, General-Locotenent Gheorghe Gheorghiu pointed out: "The national defense system of the Socialist Republic of Romania is structured in such a way that it will have the elements necessary for safe-guarding the country against any outside aggression, using to the maximum the full demographic and economic potential of the nation."

The key to the armed forces' fulfillment of their role and mission within the framework of the forces of the national defense system and the key to the continued strengthening of the armed forces lies in their direct leadership by the Romanian Communist Party. Expressing the sovereignty of the people and of their constitutional organs in adoption and implementation of measures concerning ensuring the security of the nation, the leadership of the armed forces of socialist Romania is an inalienable, non-transferable right of our party and state. "The only leader of our armed forces," said comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "is the party, the government, the supreme national commander. Only these can give orders to our armed forces and only these orders can be executed in the Romanian Socialist Republic."

The report entitled "The Romanian Armed Forces in Post-War Romanian Historiography" by university Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu, president of the History and Archeology Section of the Academy of Social and Political

Sciences, stated that "In its new -- historic-materialist -- phase, Romanian historiography has approached the study of military institutions -- in this case the armed forces -- on a documentary basis of unprecedented scope and in terms of a new perspective which has associated the widest opening of the angle of investigation (in such a way that the network of historic connections would be detected in its totality) with the most profound analysis of the military phenomenon. This approach is designed to bring to light the most intimate workings of the armed forces." In the light of historic materialism, applying its fundamental principles, "Romanian scholars have tried to distinguish the specific aspects of military structures from the Goto-Dacian to the present day. The party documents, the work of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have been a valuable guide in this direction. These documents provide an exemplary rigorous analysis of the great moments in the military history of the Romanian people and indicate the research directions of this history.

Military studies in the postwar period brought out the continuity of military structures, understood in the sense of their uninterrupted development, as a result of the effects of internal factors, and this is a characteristic feature of the history of our armed forces. This continuity on the military level is the reflex of the historic continuity of our people in the Carpathian-Danubian-Baltic area, an area entered into their consciousness as their ancestral home. The author brought out that the people living on this soil were the descendants of the best and the bravest of the Thracians -- as Herodotus called the Goto-Dacians -- and of the proud Romans, Romans who created military organisms shaped by historic circumstances and the nature of the people, organisms which underwent no hiatuses nor pressure from foreign models.

The Romanian armed forces have waged no wars of aggression -- the army has changed during its millenium-long history, by virtue of the effect of the objective laws which brought about the progress of the autochthonous society, so that our armed forces, from the impressive host of Burebista, through the medieval hosts which held back foreign aggressors, to the modern armed forces which won independence, have contributed to the development of national unity and successfully fought against the Wehrmacht -- and they have earned the shield given to them by the people, a shield which, in the words of the historian, is placed "in the path of evil-doers," and they stand resolved to respond to the provocations of history with the firm desire to resist and to be victorious."

In the final report, Professor Stefan Stefanescu noted that "Without being tributary to circumstantial servitude, the military history studies are firmly anchored in contemporaneity; study of people's wars in the past must use historic experience in providing the background for the concept of defense of the nation by all the people -- which is the basis for our military doctrine -- and should offer stimulating examples of the effectiveness of this system of defense."

In a report entitled "The Contribution of our Armed Forces to the Economic Activity of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," General-Colonel Marin Niculescu, Deputy Minister of National Defense, stated: "Starting with the decisive role of the high rate of development of the entire national economy and of science and culture in strengthening the independence, sovereignty and defensive capacity of the nation, from the indivisibility of the work of building and protecting socialism in our country, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has scientifically justified the role of the armed forces in our global social system and their functions and mission in the present stage of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania on the road toward communism."

"The unity of the building-protecting task is reflected both in the involvement of all the people in protecting the nation and in the participation of the armed forces in economic construction. Just as workers combine productive work with military training activities organized in the places where they work, in the same manner the armed forces, during peacetime, combine training for the defense of the nation with their participation in productive activities within the framework of the national economy.

Participation by the armed forces in economic activity has a long tradition in our country. In their millenium-long history, our people have often had to work with their "weapons next to the plow," to combine economic activity with activity for defense of the nation, so as to be able to protect their lives, so as to be able to repel the assaults of powerful aggressors. At all times, they combined these two indissolubly connected aspects of activity. Throughout the history of our armed forces, soldiers have been present whether in work or in defending the nation.

Making a contribution to realization of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and to defeat of Nazi Germany, as early as the first years after the war the Romanian armed forces actively participated in the economic reconstruction of the nation, contributing to the rebuilding of industry, transportation and telecommunications affected by the war and to the combatting of the effects of the drought which struck our country in the first post-war years. Notably present in many different construction sites, the soldiers of the nation, shoulder to shoulder with the people, participated in the building of the first facilities of the new society. In the 35 years which have passed, they have honorably fulfilled their duty to the nation in the two-fold capacity of protectors and builders of the socialist system. At the same time, for many sub-units and units the activity in the national economy facilitated resolution of tasks involving military training. For example, for military engineering units and road, bridge and railroad construction units, participation in construction of complex hydrotechnical works, industrial construction, irrigation projects, and highway and railroad construction constituted a good opportunity for development of their specialized skills.

In addition to the forms of armed forces participation in economic activity which have become traditional -- construction of roads, bridges, railroads, etc. -- in the last decade and a half new modalities for the productive activity of the armed forces have been affirmed. These include: realization of industrial facilities, execution of hydrotechnical irrigation systems, construction of housing, social-cultural and tourist facilities, etc.!

In closing the report, General-Colonel Marin Nicolescu said: "In addition to its economic aspect, active participation by the military in productive activities has a great political, ethical and formative importance because it brings about an even greater strengthening of the unity between the armed forces and the people, an even greater mutual esteem and trust, a more profound understanding on the part of all military of the fact that everything that is achieved in the development of our country -- to which they have made and are making a contribution both during the period when they are working as civilians and during the period when they are performing their military service -- must be defended with force."

The reporting session continued with a report by General-Major Dr Constantin Olteanu, chief of the general staff of the Patriotic Guards, entitled: "The Historic Evolution of the People's Element in the Structure of the Armed Forces in Romania."

Throughout the many centuries of continuity and affirmation on these shores, the Romanians created and maintained an armed forces which was and is, in one way or another, impregnated with the character of the people. "This permanence sprang from a fundamental reality of the Romanian people, that of understanding their role in preserving their own existence, in defending their legitimate right to exist and live under conditions of full freedom and independence, totally opposed to expansionist tendencies. On the contrary, since their unification as distinct feudal states, the Romanian principalities opposed all invaders with armed popular resistance. From this particular orientation, it can be seen that in crucial confrontations the Romanians opposed invaders with relatively large numbers of people in their armies for the Middle Ages, much larger in number than for the armies typical of feudalism."

Throughout the Romanian Middle Ages, the reaction mentioned found an institutionalization "specific in its essence:" the combination of armed forces in two levels: "the small army," composed of permanent troops, and "the large army," created during times of danger by the mobilization to arms of the masses." The popular feature of Romanian armed forces acquired new dimensions and specific contours in the revolutionary process marked by the great moments from the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century.

Substantially enriched by the appearance of the workers' movement, the popular theme in the approach to military problems was fully clarified by

the Romanian Communist Party, which "recommending and realizing extensive communications with the existing armed forces of the nation, over which they also exercised social-political influence, also had its own military forces, patriotic struggle formations. With their own central command subordinates to the RCP, the patriotic struggle formations fulfilled an important mission in detaining in prison the Antonescu authorities arrested and cooperated in multiple forms with the armed forces in the struggle against the fascist occupants," said the author.

The entire chapter of the participation of the masses in the armed defense of the nation "was further improved by the orientation which prevailed also in the military field after the Ninth Congress of the RCP and by the military doctrine developed and prepared by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and sanctioned and enunciated in the Constitution of the nation and in the laws and other state regulations.

"The role attributed to the popular element in realization of the nation's external security," pointed out the chief of the general staff of the Patriotic Guards, "springs from the immensely significant statement made by the secretary general of the party, the president of the republic, the supreme commander of our armed forces in respect to the nature of the ripost which Romania would make to any aggressor -- a war of all the people. In this respect, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Any possible war of the future can only be a war of defense, a people's war, in which all of the people will participate in close unity, under the leadership of our communist party -- the leading political force of the nation -- and therefore will be a war to defend independence and the revolutionary achievements."

In a report entitled "The External Relations of the Romanian Armed Forces -- An Expression of the International Policy of Our Party and State," General-Lieutenant Ion Hortopan, first deputy of the Minister of National Defense and chief of the General Staff, pointed out that "Within the vast complex of actions and relations which Romania makes use of on the international level, its armed forces, which are active participants in the social-political, economic and cultural life of the nation, make a well defined contribution. The central objective of the efforts of the armed forces, the principal direction of action in the sphere of foreign policy, consists of contributing to implementation of the policy of our party and the government of our country for detente and peace.

The Romanian armed forces are developing relations of friendship and collaboration with the armed forces of all other socialist countries, thus making an active contribution to implementation of the policy of our party and state. At the same time, our country is fulfilling the obligations which it assumed within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty by developing collaboration with the armed forces of the socialist countries participating in this alliance, the purpose of which was specified with clarity at the time of its establishment, that is, defending the participating coun-

tries against an imperialist attack from Europe.

As the secretary general of our party repeatedly pointed out, whether the Warsaw Treaty exists or not, in conformity with the treaties for friendship and mutual assistance which Romania has with some socialist countries, Romania will at all times fulfill the pledges made to participate actively in case of need, under the conditions specified in the treaties, in defeating aggressions which occur.

There is now underway a process of expanding the relations of our armed forces with the armed forces of developing states, non-aligned states and young states which have set out on a road of independent life. Supporting these states in their struggle for throwing off the backwardness inherited from colonialism, their struggle against neo-colonialism, and their struggle for an evolution toward development in accordance with their own choices, Romania is developing an increasingly more active and more extensive military collaboration." The specific modalities used in the relations which the Romanian armed forces are developing with the military organisms in other countries consist of "reciprocal visits by leadership cadre, exchanges of experience on different topics of mutual interest, reciprocal visits by ships, scientific, cultural and sport exchanges, and other actions which have been agreed to." Military attaches also have important tasks in implementing the foreign relations of the armed forces. The report written by General-Lieutenant Ion Hortopan pointed out that "Officers within the framework of diplomatic representations help to initiate and develop friendly military contacts, to achieve mutual understanding between our country and countries to which they are accredited, and to initiate, facilitate and effect visits among the military forces of the respective states and exchanges of armed forces delegations or other actions of collaboration."

The scientific report entitled "The Armed Forces in the Social, Political, Scientific and Cultural Life of the Nation," written by General-Major Dr Ilie Ceausescu, deputy secretary of the Higher Policy Council of the armed forces, brought out the idea of the active and continuing presence of the armed forces in all fields of life -- social, political, economic, scientific and cultural -- in socialist Romania, with the "position and role of the Romanian armed forces in our society being determined above all by the place and role which they occupied in the structure of the present Romanian state. As the secretary general of our party pointed out, the armed forces are an inseparable part of the state, and their activity represents an important sector of the activities of the state.

Within the spirit of the general policy of our party and state, Romanian military personnel participate actively in all political events of the nation, support the practical application of all measures established, and enthusiastically fulfill the tasks given them in their sector of activity." As General-Major Ilie Ceausescu pointed out, this objective requirement of Romanian society is materialized on a practical basis by representation of

the country's military in all eligible organs of the party and state. For example, at the Eleventh Congress of the RCP (November 1974), 13 generals and higher officers were elected as members of the Central Committee, and at the Grand National Assembly (March 1975), 14 cadre from the armed forces were elected as deputies. Additionally, numerous military personnel belong to local party and state organs in the councils of the Socialist Unity Front and other public organizations. Many officers, who are specialists with high levels of skill -- engineers, lawyers, economists, doctors, etc. -- work in the various branches of the state apparatus or in the management of construction sites, economic units and institutions of science, education and culture.

At the same time, "Military personnel are carrying on various activities of political and social interest in public, cultural and sports organizations, in different public committees, and participate in meetings with deputies, etc., where they show a high civic spirit, initiative, etc. A significant number of officers participate in political propaganda activity in institutions and enterprises in the cities as well as in the villages, presenting lectures and holding conferences in connection with the main problems of our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy, thus making an outstanding contribution to development of the socialist consciousness of the citizens of the nation and to their communist and patriotic education."

The armed forces constitute a prestigious presence also in the scientific research activity of the nation. Through the inexhaustible resources which they have, the armed forces have distinguished themselves not only by the contribution which they have made to strengthening the technical-scientific defense potential, but also by their contribution to the rapid progress of science and the development of Romanian technology.

As a natural aftermath of the conditions created by contemporary Romanian society, military personnel are also contributing even more in the sphere of culture. Within this framework, the branch of military culture, which organically is a general branch of Romanian science and culture, is a specific field with priority attached to it.

On an even broader level, this contribution is a part of the general activity of shaping the new man, the multilaterally developed personality, of raising the socialist consciousness of all the people -- an activity in which the armed forces also participate.

The author of the report concluded that the results of the complex and long-term activities carried on by the communist party and the forms of involvement of the armed forces in the political-social, scientific and cultural life of the nation have been reflected in a substantial direct contribution to the policy of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

Prof Dr Docent Zoe Dumitrescu Busulenga, deputy chairman of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, presented a report entitled: "The Romanian Armed Forces in Contemporary Literature." After evoking the noble tradition of the written word in respect to military power, the author noted: "It is easy to understand the important place that Romanian literature of military inspiration has in the present context of Romanian literature in the 35 years which have passed since the establishment of our people's armed forces, since their history coincides with the entire history of the nation and for us their strong presence means a guarantee for our state integrity and for the independence and sovereignty of Romania.

In recent years, literary works which show the life of the armed forces and their leaders in the past (and also works on military topics in the present) have been written with increasingly more modern writing techniques for shedding light on the psychology of heroes from numerous and constantly more revealing angles which show lives and contemporary figures driven by the same constant ideals of honorable freedom for their country and suitable for identification with other Romanian heroes from other times. Moreover, identification between the military heroes of the past and those of today is not the only possible way of demonstrating the unity of thought and deed of the Romanian people illustrated in literature. Today, in our peace-loving country, the armed forces, the shield of defense, is thought of together with history and with the entire nation."

In his report entitled "The Economic-Social Development of the Nation -- The Peaceful Basis for Strengthening Defense Capacities," Colonel Dr Gheorghe Gainusă pointed out: "Strengthening the defense capacities of the nation is a complex task with profound implications; it presupposes the solution of multiple problems in the military field itself and, above all, in the field of the economic and political-social life of the nation.

Since the task of building socialism and defense is unique and indivisible, the greater the successes we achieve in developing the forces of production, in causing science, culture and education to flower, and in raising the material welfare of all the people and their socialist, revolutionary consciousness, the more the people will be resolved to defeat anyone who attempts to deprive them of their socialist achievements or of the country's independence."

The "Closing Speech" of the session was given by Prof Dr Docent Mihnea Gheorghiu, chairman of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.

6010
C30: 2700

ROMANIA

ROLE OF MILITIA IN LAW ENFORCEMENT DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Jan 80 pp 27-30

/Article by Major General Constantin Nuta, deputy minister of Interior, chief of the General Inspectorate of the militia/

/Text/ The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party has been an event of outstanding importance in the life of our party and people, with profound, dynamizing impacts on socioeconomic and political developments in the current stage and on a long-range basis. During its proceedings and in its resolutions it involved paramount matters pertaining to upgrading the leadership of all sectors of activity, the development and expansion of socialist democracy, the ensuring of the organizational framework which is more and more propitious for the participation of all our people in running society, the consistent assertion of the revolutionary spirit and socialist humanism, in compliance with the requirements of the Program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

The outstanding report given by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, a program document of a great scientific value and of an inestimable theoretical and practical importance, has and will continue to have a strong mobilizing response in the conscience of all our people.

Through this historic document the party secretary general indicated, with revolutionary boldness, the goals and methods of action in the new strategical stage of building socialism, stating that during the 1981-1985 period Romanian society will enter a superior phase, in which it is imperative, as an objective requirement, to switch, based on the quantitative accumulations in all areas, to a new quality.

One of the objectives in this new stage of development involves strengthening order and discipline in all the economic and social sectors, further establishment of the climate of lawfulness and justice for the full assertion of the new man, conscious builder of the new society.

The program documents of the Congress specify that for the transition to a new quality, in this area, we need to permanently have in mind some major factors such as: heightening strictness, firmness, equity and concern for the individual, so that no violation of the law may remain unpunished and also that no one may be punished unjustly, and those who committed specific violations may be rehabilitated and in a short lapse of time be restored to society.

In the context of the objectives and guidelines adopted by the 12th Party Congress, for the purpose of implementing the inspiring program for our country's advance along the road of socialism and communism, the improvement in the activity of the militia is an organic component.

Highlighting the idea according to which "within the framework of the overall activity of scientific organization and management of society, our socialist state has continuously strengthened and its functions have been upgraded in compliance with the requirements of this stage," [1] the documents of the Congress stress the important tasks allotted the bodies of the Ministry of Interior -- of the militia and security -- [2], in accomplishing the function of defense of the people's revolutionary gains and law enforcement, a function whose concrete content involves protection of socialist and private property, of the legitimate rights, freedoms, and interests of citizens.

Aware as they are of their high responsibility in completing this function, the militia organs, in close cooperation with the other state organs and, in the first place, with the organs of the prosecutor's office, having the broad and constant support of the mass of working people, make every effort to exemplarily fulfill the missions entrusted to them by the party and people.

Working in the spirit of the guidelines given by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu and founding all their activity on the Constitution and the laws of this country, the militia organs have established the prevention of antisocial actions as the priority line of their work. Hence, the militia officers and subofficers are required to take every step to prevent the commission of infractions and other violations of the law and to step in promptly when they are notified of occurrences or manifestations which might degenerate into such actions.

The activity of prevention conducted by the militia organs principally involves three forms: use of specific procedures, which has a wide range, beginning with ensuring the presence of the militia factor at the scene and ending with the discovery and investigation of the antisocial actions committed; educating the citizens so that they may not violate the law; educating the citizens so that they may not become victims of violators.

With regard to the last two forms of prevention, in militia work it has now become a common procedure to publicly debate, specifically at civic rallies attended by the tenants of the various apartment houses, or the residents of a street or neighborhood, the cases of violation of the law, concurrently with explaining the legal provisions and drawing attention on the need for complying with these provisions.

For the purpose of correcting the behavior of minors or young people who commit antisocial actions which involve a lesser danger, the procedure used complies with the provisions of party documents and regulatory acts, consisting in entrusting these persons to the collectives at the job, at school, or the family, for their continued education and restoration to society.

Combating of social parasitism, by detection and orientation toward useful activities of unemployed people, inclined toward illegal activities such as trafficking in gold and foreign currency, profiteering, smuggling, prostitution, pandering, panhandling, vagrancy and the like, also is a means of crime prevention which has been successfully used by the militia organs.

In ensuring the climate of lawfulness the militia organs place special emphasis on the link with the managing bodies of socialist units and organizations and the systematic information of these bodies about the situations that might result in loss involving public property or injury to the legitimate interests of workers.

For the purpose of prevention by informing citizens about some cases of violation of the law, the militia organs benefit from the more and more efficient support of the press, radio and television, which results in the creation of a mass opinion against any violation of legal provisions.

In order to give an offensive character to prevention, the leading body of the Ministry of Interior and of the General Inspectorate of the Militia took steps to investigate scientifically and on a long-term basis the dynamics of crime. Consequently, the militia organs, in conjunction with the other specialized institutions, will conduct crime surveys and forecasting studies in order to determine the causes and conditions that may generate the commission of antisocial actions. They will use the resulting data and conclusions in implementing specific programs of prevention work, for the various categories of persons and infractions.

However, we must point out that socialist humanism, materialized in the generous prospect offered by society to the persons that

committed antisocial actions for restoration to society does not have anything in common with toleration of violations of the law, with the benevolent attitude toward flouting of the law.

Therefore, concurrently with conducting its activity of prevention, the militia takes firm action against those who, in spite of the assistance given, disregard the laws of this country, constantly guided by the principle according to which "the ensuring of law and order must be based on an intransigent attitude toward any violation of the laws, on increasing vigilance against the manifestations which are incompatible with the standards of community life in our society." [3] In the spirit of this principle, in accordance with the authority given under the law, the militia is allotted the task of stepping in promptly in order to rapidly end the actions which harm the interests of our socialist society, the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, and to thoroughly investigate the violators.

Displaying enhanced discrimination, offensive spirit against the violations of the standards of community life and also proving constant concern for the implementation of the principle of presumption of innocence, the militia organs will base their entire activity on the principle of strict implementation of socialist lawfulness.

For a greater efficiency of the activity of prevention and combating of infractions and of other antisocial actions, it is imperative, as an objective requirement, to ensure the permanent assistance of working people, of all citizens. Speaking on the importance of the involvement of the masses of citizens in assisting the organs of the Ministry of Interior, Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "Only with the active involvement of working people we will be able to obtain the successes which we expect in this sector of activity, to continuously reduce the number of those that can be drawn into violating the laws and standards of community life, and to achieve a rapid and significant decrease in the number of infractions." [4]

Moreover, in the report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the party secretary general stated that only "by fulfilling the duties assigned and basing their activity on the support and participation of the masses" [5] the militia and security organs can ensure full observance of socialist lawfulness.

The forms and modalities by which the citizens support the militia are numerous and are constantly diversifying. They range from sheer notifications and suggestions to institutionalized, organized forms of direct participation of citizens, alongside militiamen in various activities. Working people, of different

ages and professions, provide a significant input into fulfilling the assignments of the militia, into implementing our party and state policy in this area.

Among the many forms of participation which, recently, have been increasingly expanding, we point out the great input of the fighters of patriotic detachments, the group of support of the militia, the Union of Communist Youth groups of order and discipline, the order squads in the large tourist complexes, the volunteer active of drivers, and other categories of citizens.

Pointing out the need for the continuous improvement of the linkage with the broad masses of working people -- basic condition for the successful implementation of the tasks allotted the militia under the documents of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party -- we feel that for this it is necessary, in the first place to enhance the political-ideological and professional -- juridical and military -- training of all cadres and to adapt our work methods to the specific requirements of the current stage in Romania's socioeconomic development.

Educated in the spirit of boundless devotion to the cause of socialism and communism and proceeding from their responsibility to the party and people of most efficiently protecting public order and quiet, public property, and the assets of each citizen, the militia organs are resolved, in conjunction with the other state bodies, with all the factors which have duties in the area of enforcement of socialist lawfulness, the broad masses of working people, to strictly complete the tasks allotted them in the party documents, the laws of this country, and the orders of our supreme commander.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Raportul Comitetului Central cu Privire la Activitatea Partidului Comunist Roman in Perioada Dintre Congresul al XI-lea si Congresul al XII-lea si Sarcinile de Viitor ale Partidului" [Report of the Central Committee on the Activity of the Romanian Communist Party During the Period Between the 11th Congress and 12th Congress and the Future Tasks of the Party], 19 November 1979, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1979, p 60.
2. Ibidem, p 65.
3. "Cu Privire la Perfectionare Conducerei Tuturor Sectoarelor de Activitate, a Legislatiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, a Activitatii Organelor de Justitie si ale Ministerului de

Interne, Precum si Noi Masuri Privind Dezvoltarea Democratiei Socialiste" /On Improvement of Management of All Sectors of Activity, the Laws of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Activity of the Legal Organs and of the Ministry of Interior, and New Measures Pertaining to the Development of Socialist Democracy/, in "National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, 7-9 December 1977," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1978, p 450.

4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Cuvintare la Adunarea Activului de Partid si a Cadrelor de Conducere din Ministerul de Interne" /Address to the Meeting of the Party Active and Executives of the Ministry of Interior/, 23 December 1976, in "Romania Along the Road to Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1976, p 663.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report of the Central Committee on the Activity of the Romanian Communist Party During the Period Between the 11th Congress and the 12th Congress and the Future Tasks of the Party," 19 November 1979, p 65.

11710
CSO: 2700

PRACTICE OF COVERING UP WORK ACCIDENTS CONDEMNED

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 18 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Clara Dumitrescu: "The Camouflaging of Work Accidents, a Trick Which Must Be Exposed"]

[Excerpts] The disproportion between the large number of medical certificates issued by the medical dispensaries of the enterprises, on the basis of the accident code, and the relatively few cases in which they become documents for the files on work accidents prompts a number of questions. Are all the accidents which are listed as taking place outside of working hours really of this nature? Or, especially when it is a question of minor accidents, are accidents occurring on the job being covered up? It is very hard to say, very hard to prove but it merits examination.

At the "Grivita Rosie" chemical equipment enterprise in Bucharest, some 402 medical certificates were issued by the dispensary under the accident code--363 were said to have taken place off the job and 37 on the job. The report gives nourishment to our supposition. The incredible nature of some statements serves as evidence. For example, Vasile Stoican was hurt while lighting a fire in his home, which has central heating. If, at the time, more attention had been paid to the disharmony between words and facts, perhaps the verdict "accident off the job" might have been changed. In the case of coppersmith Gheorghe Firu, a so-called off-the-job accident changed after a month and one-half to a work accident. Influenced and influencable, Gh. F. stated, first of all, on 15 January, that he fell on the way to the enterprise and fractured his elbow. Then, on 3 March, at the insistence of the people in the labor safety department and of his work colleagues who knew what had happened, he withdrew his statement and told the truth: He fell off a ladder while he was trying to tighten a screw.

Thus, this was a work accident which, if reported and investigated in time, would have meant immediate action against unsuitable work methods. We asked Engineer Constantin Chirita, of the State Inspectorate for

Labor Safety, to explain the coverups and concealments. We found out what we had surmised, that according to legislation "the foreman is the sole manager of the work sector which is entrusted to him, providing technical assistance, assuring the adoption of the necessary labor safety measures and bearing responsibility for work accidents produced in his radius of activity."

Thus, the foreman is the first one who does not want there to be any work accidents. This goal must be attained by suitable methods, not by deceit or by the falsification of reality.

The truth finally comes forth. Foreman Ion Tomulescu was penalized--administratively--for being an accomplice and instigator in the concealment of a work accident. The case was discussed in the trade union group! The blame should be shared with all those who knew what had gone on but kept silent. The labor safety public inspector of the trade union group was silent; the group organizer was silent; the witnesses were silent. A serious act with harmful consequences for man and his rights was treated with indifference and apathy.

Didn't anyone think about the possibility of the repetition of the accident under the same conditions and from the same causes, improper work methods, but in much more serious proportions? This is true, not just speculation. It happened in the "Electromures" factory in Tirgu Mures. The work accident suffered by Basile Panazi (because of the defective functioning of a revolving lid, a copper wire hit him in the eye) was exposed a month later when Leontina Cheorghita suffered an eye injury at the same place, from the same cause. It is known that a work accident means the granting of rights from which the injured worker benefits through labor legislation. However, for all the other workers, this can serve as a warning and it can serve as an incentive for foremen to declare a campaign for the prevention and eradication of risks with undesired consequences. Everyone is hurt by a coverup. How can such practices be prevented? Here is the solution which was found in the "Grivita Rosie" chemical equipment enterprise:

Florea Nicolae, the chairman of the trade union committee, told us: "Each report of an accident, on the job or off the job, is reviewed by the organizer of the trade union group, by the public inspector and by the foreman. The control is more rigorous and more objective and the possibility of using influences is limited."

Indeed, the control exercised by the trade union is a key in establishing the exact details in regard to accidents. The procedure is used in other enterprises in the country: the Galati naval shipyard, the "Electrotimis" plant in Timisoara, the Arad lathe enterprise, and has proven to be an experiment recommended for all those who are concerned with assuring the accuracy of the statements on accidents, their truthfulness and the objectivity of the information presented.

The signature of the organizer of the trade union group on the accident report means the assumption of an important responsibility and, in such a climate of responsibility, the distortion of reality will no longer be possible. A visit to the person incapacitated for work will give his colleagues an opportunity to find out the cause of the disability. Marin Radu, the organizer of the trade union group in the "Grivita Rosie" chemical equipment enterprise, learned from foreman Paul Biru, that Ion Cocicov had had an accident at home. It would have been an ideal situation for the foreman to get by with a "white lie." But the scaffolding of lies crumbled when the members of the trade union group visited the disabled worker and found out the truth. A month later, a report was written on an accident resulting from a failure to use safety goggles.

For all those who ask what can be done to unmask attempts to cover up work accidents, we have a few suggestions, verified by practice, to which others may be added. They are:

A visit to the residence of the accident victims;

An effective information system between the trade union and the doctor in the enterprise so that the trade union is informed immediately whenever there is a work accident;

The stimulation of collaboration between the public inspectors and the specialized technical department and the strengthening of their work in the area of the creation of opinion opposing any concealment.

The falsification of reality to the disfavor of man and his rights is a serious violation of our legislation and generates lack of discipline and tolerance of irresponsibility. Therefore, it should be exposed immediately wherever it appears.

CSO: 2700

RABBI ROSEN PRAISES GERMAN MINORITY BISHOP ON 70TH BIRTHDAY

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIK in Romanian 1 Apr 80 p 6

[Article: "An Anniversary: His Eminence Bishop Dr Albert Klein"]

[Excerpts] On 16 March 1980, the 70th birthday of Dr Albert Klein, bishop of the C.A. [Augsburg Confession Lutheran] Evangelical Church, was celebrated in Sibiu. The religious leaders of the country and numerous representatives of the evangelical churches, both from Romania and from outside the country, participated and gave speeches. Director Eugen Munteanu gave a welcoming speech and offered congratulations in the name of the Department of Cults and of Ion Rosianu, the chairman of the department. His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, accompanied by Emil Sechter, secretary general of the Federation of Jewish Communities and Eng Theodor Blumenfeld, president of the Bucharest Jewish Community, represented the Jewish faith at this beautiful ceremony. His eminence gave an impressive toast, in which he extolled the great merits of the person being honored and the brotherhood and harmony which reigns among the religions of the national minorities in this country. We are publishing fragments from the speech of his eminence:

His Eminence Bishop Dr Albert Klein has won unanimous love and respect as a result of his unstinting work and his boundless devotion to the service of the church, the country and peace.

My very words are a testimony. A rabbi who congratulates a German bishop; this is the embodiment of the fundamental transformation which has taken place in our country.

We are both representatives of religious and national minorities. Since the second temple was destroyed, that is, more than 1900 years ago, we have been a minority wherever we were. Only in these days, was the Holy Land destined to be rebuilt so that it would be a place under the sun in which we would no longer be a minority.

Just like you, the Germans, we have been living in this country for many centuries and have been enjoying the hospitality of the wonderful Romanian people.

In the past, however, a policy of incitement to hate and to discrimination separated us and the cup of the Holocaust was bitter, a cup which we Jews drank to the end. "Divide et impera," divide men so that you can conquer them better, was not only the slogan of the Roman Empire but also the slogan of the masters of yesterday.

But for three and one-half decades, a new concept has been ruling this country, that of the elimination of all sorts of national, racial or religious discrimination. The minorities enjoy full rights. At the same time, we have the right to be equal to all others and the right to be different from others. This means that together with equality of rights we also have the opportunity to keep our national and religious identity, our culture, language and traditions.

If I were to define this policy in the German language, I would say: "leben und leben lassen"--to live and let live. This is the national policy and the policy of religious freedom in our country; this is also the idea of peaceful coexistence--the basis of the foreign policy of Romania.

My neighbor at the table, the most reverend bishop of the Rhineland has reminded me of the time, after the years of terrible sufferings of the Holocaust, that his parishioner Willy Brandt knelt before the monument to the Jewish fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto. The bishop also told me about the ecumenical activity which he is carrying on with the Jewish community there.

Is it necessary to remind you, priests and men of German culture, about the parable of "Nathan the Wise" written by Lessing? The three rings were made by the One Heavenly Father to unite the three brothers in love and not to cause discord among them.

His Eminence Bishop Dr Albert Klein serves this humanistic, progressive concept. For years we have been together in the Grand National Assembly, in the Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and in the National Committee for the Defense of the Peace. We speak different languages but the same language of ideas and feelings.

Last year we traveled together to the United States, as members of an ecumenical delegation from the religions of Romania, and I was happy to see the prestige which he enjoys among the ranks of his fellow [German] nationals and members of the faithful.

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Iosif is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. Comrade Iosif Tripea is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology and appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. Comrade Ion Teoreanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials and appointed deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 29, 4 Apr 80 p 4]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ladislau Lorincz is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. Comrade Iuliu Furo is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 29, 4 Apr 80 p 4]

RELEASE OF CETERCHI--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Ceterchi is relieved of his position as chairman of the Legislative Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 28, 3 Apr 80 p 4]

CHANGES IN DEFENSE MINISTRY--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lt Gen Ion Hortopan is relieved of his position as first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff. Comrade Col Gen Vasile Milea is appointed first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 28, 3 Apr 80 p 4]

CSO: 2700

ARCHBISHOP'S PROTESTS AGAINST ATHEISM CRITICIZED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 80 p 5

[Commentary by Nenad Ivanovic: "Atheism is Not the Same Thing as the Propagation of Atheism"]

[Text] At several points in his pre-Easter pastoral letter entitled "Keep Vigil and Pray!" (published in GLAS KONCILA No 3, 1980), the archbishop of Zagreb, writing about the current situation and tasks of the Catholic Church in Croatia, also has something to say about the attitude of society toward religion and toward believers, claiming that this attitude is tantamount to the crudest assaults ever mounted against religion. In this connection he at the same time equates the basic ideological aspirations of our society with militant atheism.

Thus, inter alia, the archbishop makes the following statement in his pastoral letter: "Is it not true that we are today being subjected to many different kinds of temptations? We are being tempted to turn against religion. We are being tempted to turn against the commandments of God and his Church. We are being tempted to turn against the sacraments and all the things we hold sacred. We are being tempted to repudiate the immortal reason for our existence on earth. We are being incited to repudiate the Creator and the Savior.... Indeed, never before in the history of the human race have we been subjected to so many temptations to repudiate our faith. A systematic campaign dedicated to the propagation of atheism is being waged by all available means over large areas of the world. And even here in Yugoslavia the propagation of atheism is a pervasive fact of life in the realm of public education, starting in kindergarten and extending all the way up to the university level. This is a fact. There is no need to dwell at length on the evidence which testifies to this fact. Nevertheless, we must once again declare that the sacred rights of believer families are being severely encroached upon when their children, in the name of a materialistic ideology, are led astray into faithlessness and when, moreover, this is being done under the auspices of a public school system which is the property of the whole nation."

Socialism is Not Atheism

Any attempt, including that of the archbishop's, to reduce the philosophical dimensions of our socialist self-management democracy to an abstraction of the sort labelled "materialist ideology" or to equate it with atheism is totally out of place and malicious. For the fact of the matter is, and at least this much is clear, that our country is waging a struggle for something much more profound and fundamental than the mere fact of whether people are to believe in God or not. Therefore, contrary to what the archbishop would like to have us believe, the basic tasks facing our society have nothing at all to do with the installation of some kind of militant atheism, but rather with the attempt to establish those kinds of social relations and conditions which, to use Marx's phrase, are "most worthy of and best suited to human nature."

In this connection it is certainly worth remembering that atheism, in the strict sense of the word (the denial of God in the name of man), is simply a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of socialist social relations, but not an integral element of socialism as such, since socialism is by definition a manifestation of man's positive self-awareness. Consequently, the "abolition of religion" is no longer necessary. And this is in fact why, when we are talking about the attitude of society as a sociopolitical collectivity toward religion, it is a real mistake and an expression of unprecedented invidiousness to talk about the "systematic propagation of atheism," since there are really no theoretical or even practical justifications for any such thing.

To be sure, atheism exists as a unique way in which to perceive nature and man, but under no circumstances does this mean that religion is in any way threatened by this, just as the existence of religion in no way threatens atheism. The constitutional principle which guarantees the freedom of thought and opinion applies in equal measure to all citizens of this country. This is why the claim that atheism is the tempter of faith is tantamount to the repudiation of all tolerance in favor of the exclusive rights of believers. This is borne out by the terminology used by the archbishop. In his pastoral letter he deliberately uses the verb "to tempt," since he knows that in Christian terminology this means to encourage someone to do evil, while the noun "tempter" signifies, as he writes, an "out and out murderer."

Blurred Spheres of Authority

So we should not be surprised by the archbishop's claim that "...the propagation of atheism is a pervasive fact of life in the realm of public education...." This is in any event a well-worn theory proclaimed by certain clerics, a theory which recently has been much exploited in some of our other republics. But in this connection it would be a good idea merely to remember that the propagation of atheism has nothing at all to do with the absence of religious instruction in our school curricula; by the same token it has nothing to do with the scientific interpretation of the world, nature, man, history and so on, even though this interpretation is atheistic and it is so

to the extent that it contains scientific truths; nor does the propagation of atheism have anything to do with the existence of a so-called neutral school system, something for which some elements of the clergy are so ardently clamoring, since such a school system (which has anyway never existed before anywhere in the world) would be totally out of keeping with the nature of our society, a society which is deeply involved in the conduct of both our internal and external political affairs.

Finally, is it even necessary to prove that our school system does not in any way dispute the right of pupils to believe in whatever they want, that it does not place atheists in a privileged position, and that it does not coerce anyone into subscribing to atheism? This is why it is utterly absurd to claim that the schools "are leading people astray into faithlessness," just as it would be equally absurd to make the opposite claim, i.e., that the church is leading people astray into faith and that it therefore deserves to be censured in the name of atheism.

To be sure, society has a vital interest, for the sake of the goals for which it is striving, in atheistic education or, rather, in the encouragement of a Marxist and scientific interpretation of the world and its phenomena, and in this regard it cannot make any concessions. But this has nothing at all in common with the propagation of atheism (according to the archbishop's view as stated in his pastoral letter), just as religious instruction has nothing at all to do with clericalism. This should by now be clear to every citizen of this country, and this is why they should be surprised to learn that a certain archbishop has to be reminded, since he is obviously not fully aware of this, about the declaration of the Vatican Council II to the effect that the authority of the church should in no way be mixed up with that of the political community and that he should therefore not interfere with the affairs of the latter. From this standpoint, the archbishop's invective clearly amounts to a blurring of spheres of authority and bears witness to a brand of religious integralism which the church wants to transform into opposition to the state and to the people. And this is not at all the mission of the church in today's world.

An Eloquent Rebuttal

In support of this contention we will make reference to some of the ideas put forward by the South Tyrolean bishop J. Gargitter: "As Christians we have a special mission to perform, i.e., to encourage a dialogue, to cultivate tolerance, and to be openminded and full of understanding toward those who think differently than we do. We must foster these attitudes at all levels, i.e., in the political and economic realms, in interdenominational relations, and in relations between all social groups and ethnic minorities."

This attitude is indeed an eloquent rebuttal to the point the archbishop is trying to make in his pre-Easter pastoral letter.

To this one should add the opinion of one of our theologians who states that the mission of the church is not "...to force the present generation to dedicate itself to the infant Jesus of old, but rather to transform the church into an instrument that is generous enough so as to enable the living Christ to break through the personal isolation of all men living in today's world...." (Tomislav Sagi-Bunic, KAMA, No 1, 1980).

We believe that these views are a sufficient repudiation of the instrumentalization of religion for the purpose of imposing the Christian worldview and the Christian critique of society on other people and make it clear that this kind of "religion on the offensive" is both utterly anachronistic and totally unacceptable to modern man.

11813

CSO: 2800

RETURN OF ARTICLES BELONGING TO ORTHODOX CHURCH IN CROATIA

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 80 p 1

[Joint communique of a commission of the Dabar-Bosnian Holy Archiepiscopal Synod and the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly signed by Dabar-Bosnian Metropolitan Vladislav and Ivan Lalic, member of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly]

[Text] On 15 February 1980 we carried in PRAVOSLAVLJE the news that Jure Bilic, president of the Croatian Assembly, had received a delegation of the Holy Archiepiscopal Synod on 11 January 1980, on which occasion talks were held about returning church relics taken from certain churches and monasteries to Zagreb during the war. We are happy to inform the readers of PRAVOSLAVLJE that this visit led to the formation of two commissions, of the Holy Archiepiscopal Synod and the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly respectively, which met for the first time in 14 February 1980. We present here the joint communique on talks held at that time.

On 14 February 1980 delegations of the Holy Archiepiscopal Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church and of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly met to examine the problems of sacred works of art owned by the Serbian Orthodox Church which have been placed in the Croatian Historical Museum and certain other institutions in Zagreb. The delegation of the Holy Synod consisted of the following: Dabar-Bosnian Metropolitan Vladislav, Bishop Simeon of Gornji Larlovac, Bishop Sava of Sumadija, Lepavina Vicar Episcopal Jovan, Dr Dejan Medakovic, member of the academy, Dr Dusan Kasic, retired seminary rector, and Svetozar Dusanic, director of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade.

The delegation of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly consisted of the following: Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Executive Council and chairman of the Croatian Republic Committee for Education, Culture, Physical Fitness and Popular Technical Education; Prof Ivan Lalic, member of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly and chairman of the Commission

for Relations With Religious Communities of the Executive Council; Mile Babic, secretary of the Secretariat of the Executive Council for Legislation; Dr Andrija Mohorovicic, professor and member of the academy, and Prof Fedor Moacanin, councilor in the Museum of Art and Handicrafts in Zagreb.

After an exchange of opinions the delegations unanimously agreed as follows:

- 1) that sacred and other articles which are the property of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which do not have exceptional cultural and historical significance and do not require special treatment in their safekeeping and presentation shall be returned to the owners;
- 2) that articles which have exceptional cultural and historical significance and require special treatment in their safekeeping and presentation shall also be returned to the owners on condition that the most acceptable arrangement is found for their housing, safekeeping and presentation to the public within the diocese where they originated;
- 3) it is the opinion of both delegations that it would be desirable for the articles covered by the second point to be kept in one place in the diocese;
- 4) the agreement concerning the housing, safekeeping and presentation to the public of the articles covered by Point 2 would be sought in an agreement between the bishop of the diocese in question and the appropriate agencies of the sociopolitical community in which the headquarters of the diocese is located, with the help of appropriate bodies and agencies of the republic. The final decision should be sought along the lines of the decision for housing and presentation of "gold and silver of Zadar" and similar church museum institutions.

So that this agreement might be carried out as rapidly as possible, the delegations agreed that a group of specialists be immediately formed to identify, determine the origin and classify the articles mentioned above. The group of specialists would consist of one representative of each diocese in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and Bishop Sava of Sumadija as representative of the Holy Archiepiscopal Synod and as coordinator of this group, while on the other side the group of specialists would include the following: representatives of the Historical Museum of Croatia, the Museum of Art and Handicrafts, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the University Library and the School of Medicine, and Fedor Moacanin as coordinator of this second group.

The delegations further agreed that this group of specialists should immediately begin work so as to complete its job within 2 months.

Once the group of specialists has submitted a report on its work, the delegations which held these talks will again meet to find the appropriate final decision which would be the basis for a contract between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the appropriate institutions in Croatia.

CHURCH COOPERATION WITH SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVIJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 80 p 1

[Unsigned article]

[Text] On 10 March 1980 talks were held in Sremski Karlovci between a commission of the Serbian Orthodox Church and a commission of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts concerning promotion of cooperation between the patriarchate and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) on the question of the Metropolitanate-Patriarchate Archives in Karlovci, which is the property of the Serbian Church, but has been turned over to the Academy of Sciences for its use.

The delegation of the Serbian Church consisted of Dr Sava, bishop of Srem, Mladimir Todorovic, rector of Saint Arsenius Seminary in Karlovci, and Prof Svetozar Dusanic, director of the Church Museum. The SANU delegation included Dr Milutin Garasanin, Dr Vojislav Buric and Dr Dimitrije Stefanovic, members of the academy, and also Cedomir Denic, acting director of the Archives, and Dr Marko Jacov, staff specialist.

7045

CSO: 2800

USE OF LOCAL SUPPLIES DURING MILITARY EXERCISES EXAMINED

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 6, Nov-Dec 79 pp 3-7

[Article by Col Kosta Vujic: "Use of Economic Potentials of Social-Political Communities During Combined Tactical Exercises"]

[Text] The armed forces are large consumers of nonmilitary resources (clothing, food, water, expendable material, fuel, etc) even in peacetime. These peacetime needs are provided for by the usual contractual means and are the work of an organized system of rear supply. The callup of the reserve force and the activation of combat units necessitates the drilling and training of larger organizations during combined tactical exercises [CTE] creating conditions for increased consumption of nonmilitary material resources. The inclusion of the remaining components of the nationwide defensive system in CTE (territorial defense units, civil defense units, and the economic structures) creates the circumstances for the complex activities of the branches of rear supply on the premises where these exercises are being conducted.

First, favorable opportunities for training organizations of associated labor in carrying out their responsibilities in a war, i.e., satisfying the needs of the armed forces for certain expendable resources and services, are created by the increased consumption of nonmilitary resources.

Second, opportunities for the training of the rear support system and rear units in the provision of material resources and the extension of certain services are offered to armed forces units during CTE.

Third, social-political communities (local communities, communal assemblies, and, in some places, republic agencies as well) can verify the organization of labor and the work of the agroindustrial complex.

However, experience from CTE which have been carried out indicates that these opportunities are not taken advantage of to the fullest extent in the training of all areas of armed forces rear supply. Analyses of these exercises indicate that in spite of efforts and activities agreed upon and planned in advance, all opportunities for a more extensive participation

of all facilities and components in the preparation of these important activities for nationwide defensive warfare have not been used to the fullest extent. The important factors responsible for this are the following:

1. The continued provision of nonmilitary needs on the basis of current peacetime agreements and with the help of the usual suppliers is the easiest and the established system of linking supplies and the units often resort to it because they are only concerned with increased quantities of deliveries, which can be answered by the suppliers in the majority of cases. In this way the social-political communities do not enter into the matter of supplying needs, but are bypassed by the entire supply system in accordance with peacetime relations. Since the Yugoslav People's Army JNA has resorted to centralizing acquisition and to connecting the suppliers with the larger economic facilities in a certain territory, the labor organizations do not affect the territory where the exercises are being conducted in the majority of cases.

Applying this method to the supplying of needs of the units during CTE, nonmilitary expendable resources in the majority of cases are transported to the exercise site from a neighboring or distant region, even though the labor organization operating in the area where the exercises are being conducted possesses the same or similar resources. The provision of needs exclusively by means of peacetime suppliers omits the participation of the organizations of associated labor and the social-political communities at the exercise site and prevents their being trained in the performance of these wartime assignments.

2. Regulations concerning the acquisition of resources in the JNA refer to the obligatory signing of contracts between organizations of associated labor and suppliers of resources or performers of services. This does not correspond to the manner of supply training at the exercise site where the social-political communities are involved with the entire agroindustrial complex. According to the adopted conception of nationwide defense, social-political communities maintain and organize production and supply in their own territory. Experience from the National Liberation War indicates that units very rarely came into contact with the producers for the purpose of supplying and replenishing reserves with nonmilitary resources, but that this was carried out in collaboration with agencies of national authority. The social-political communities during nationwide defensive warfare will organize production, supply, and the extension of services in their own territory, and this means that they will determine individual organizations of associated labor and will regulate the quantity, price, and manner of delivery for satisfying the needs of the armed forces. Therefore this should also be practiced during CTE and it should enable the units by current regulations to turn to the social-political communities during exercises and to enter through them into economic relations with the organizations of associated labor.

3. The units and institutions of the JNA possess reserves of nonmilitary expendable resources which should be consumed and renewed at definite time

intervals, such as stored articles of food (flour, rice, beans; oil and lard) canned foods, expendable materials for health care and the washing and cleaning of various resources, fuel oil, motor fuel, and the like. The supplies are maintained in certain quantities for the needs of the wartime army. Renewing these supplies on the basis of peacetime consumption does not allow them to be replaced at the proper times. Because of this, units going out on maneuvers and especially the reserve force when called up for CTE where numbers and total consumption are increased, utilize these reserves so that supplies of expendable resources can be used up and replaced on a conditional basis. Therefore, because of the need for renewing these supplies, the units and institutions of the JNA do not purchase the aforementioned expendable resources from labor organizations at the exercise site at the time of CTE. This decreases the participation and the training of the organizations of associated labor and the social-political communities in carrying out wartime assignments.

4. Behind the rear supply units and institutions within the JNA are military units which to a certain extent process certain expendable resources (bread and meat) and perform certain services (repair of clothing and footwear, washing of laundry, repair and maintenance of technical equipment). It is necessary to train and instruct these units in executing their assigned duties with the resources available to them. The most suitable training and involvement of the working facilities of these units is realized during CTE, because it is at that time that it is possible to engage their facilities for the sake of satisfying the needs of the units in the CTE. And this in a sense decreases the need for involving the organizations of associated labor and the social-political communities from the exercise area in the extension of these services.

5. When units go out on CTE, they are outfitted with new equipment and their personnel are issued new clothing and footwear so that there is a reduced need for repair and maintenance of these resources. Similarly, the length of the exercises which are carried out is usually from 7 to 10 days, and this time period does not necessitate the washing of laundry and the involvement of labor organizations which perform these necessary activities.

These are the main factors which are problematic regarding the role of rear supply during CTE and in the implementation of more complete collaboration between the social-political communities, labor organizations, and organizations of the armed forces at the exercise site. Experience from CTE which have been carried out in the past indicates a very successful collaboration and an understanding of the problems of the inclusion of social-political communities and their structures in CTE. Their inclusion in CTE can be fictitious and a matter of form only if the productive and service potentials of the organizations of associated labor are not utilized and if the social-political communities are not included in regulating the supply of these needs in their own territory.

Up to now there has been a very successful and complete collaboration between the involvement of traffic police agencies and the communal assemblies concerning problems of transportation control and regulation. The major traffic arteries and intersections in populated areas are within the scope of this organization. Successful collaboration and the need for the involvement of labor organizations in automotive and railroad shipping and transportation is being established.

With respect to the utilization of the productive facilities and the reserves of labor organizations, a more complete involvement is being achieved with nonmilitary resources and expendable materials which the armed forces do not have in their own stocks, including meat (livestock for slaughter), vegetables, fruit, milk and fruit products, candied goods, expendable materials for personal hygiene and laundry, firewood, straw for ground cover, food for livestock, expendable materials and spare parts for vehicles from inventory, and the like. The involvement of the social-political communities and labor organizations from the exercise sites has been very successful in the supplying of these resources.

With the inclusion of territorial defense units in CTE on an increasingly more frequent basis and on a larger scale, a system is being developed for the rear supply of these units which on the whole unfolds through the social-political communities and labor organizations. More and more examples demonstrate that commune organizations have very successfully solved the problems of supplying the nonmilitary needs of the territorial defense unit. Some social-political communities, in attaching special significance to the organization of this supply service, have formed commune rear bases which have within their jurisdiction the supplying of territorial defense units. These bases collaborate with organizations of associated labor with regard to the supplying of reserves and in the performing of services and they operate right up to the zones and regions where the units are disposed.

One can say that the commune assemblies and local communities, as the social-political communities most directly connected to their territory, are achieving an ever-increasing importance in the supplying of the needs of the armed forces for nonmilitary resources and services. Because of this it is necessary to include these social-political communities and their agroindustrial complexes in CTE and to give them the opportunity of utilizing their potentials to the maximum.

Since problems exist concerning the manner and the extent of the utilization of nonmilitary resources for satisfying the needs of the units at the exercise site, it is necessary that they be solved while the exercises are being planned. The agencies of higher command have a decisive role in the planning of these exercises, and they can give priority to rear supply with the support of the social-political communities and the organizations of associated labor from the territory on which the CTE are being conducted.

It is necessary to overcome existing problems with long-range planning and directing of procurement and with the creation of reserves for the needs of the wartime army; it is also necessary to utilize the economic potentials of local areas on a broader scale during CTE.

9548

CSO: 2800

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

21 MAY 80

~~RECEIVED~~ DD